

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONS  
IN  
SPAIN.

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VOL. II. PART I.

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CONTAINING,

The REVOLUTIONS among the MOORS,  
from 716 to the taking of the City of *Granada*  
in 1492, which put an End to the *Moorish*  
EMPIRE in *Spain*. With the REVOLUTIONS  
in *Navarre*, from 733 to 1521.

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1608/3800

VOLUME PART I

CONTAINING

The History of the English Nation  
from the first landing of the Saxons  
in 449, which put an end to the  
Roman Empire in Britain, to the  
present time.





T H E  
C O N T E N T S  
O F  
B O O K I V.

Abdelaziz left Governor, or Vice-Roy of Spain, by his Father Moufa. Governs well, and is generally belov'd. Marries Queen Egilona, Widow to Don Roderic, the late King. She prevails with him to cause himself to be crown'd. He is assassinated. Alahor succeeds him, who is succeeded by Zama. His Expedition in the Gothic-Gaul. Is there defeated and slain by Eudon Duke of Aquitain. Ambiza, or Hamza, appointed Governor of Spain by the Vice-Roy of Africa. Does great Mischief in France, but is likewise routed with great Slaughter by the Duke of Aquitain. Sets out again for France, but dies by the Way,

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T H E





THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Revolutions in *Spain*.

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VOLUME II.

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BOOK IV.

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*The* REVOLUTIONS *which* happen'd amongst the Moors. From 716, to the taking of the City of Granada in 1492, which put an End to the Moorish Empire in Spain.

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O Monarchy upon Earth ever underwent so many *Revolutions* as did that which the *Saracen Caliphs* establish'd in *Spain* after the Defeat of King *Roderic*, which happen'd in the Year 711, as has been declar'd in the Second Book. The Pleasures and exuberant Fertility of that luxuriant Clime, its great Distance

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stance from the Sovereign, the too great Authority of the Governors, the fickle unsteady Humour of the *Arabs* and *Africans*, their Ambition, their Avarice, their Jealousy and Diffidence, the Custom of those People to have no Regard to Merit in their Choice of Princes, and, in a Word, all that the most ungovern'd and the most irregular Passions, could inspire did contribute to this scarce credible Number of Changes that happen'd in *Spain* under the *Moorish* Kings, the Detail whereof we are going to write with all possible Brevity, and with all the Exactness the Truth of this History requires, in the Performance whereof we shall be oblig'd to declare open War against a great Number of Authors, who, through the little Care they took to consult the contemporary Historians, and more especially the *Arabians*, have so strangely confounded the Chronological Order, and have cramm'd their Writings with so many fabulous, or at least, uncertain Facts, that it is not without the greatest Difficulty, that one can form any, even tolerably reasonable, Idea of the *Spanish* History, as has been evidently prov'd by *Sandoval*, *Morales*, *El Mantouano*, *Pelicier*, the Marquis of *Mondejar*, *Pagi*, and lastly by the Abbot *Longue-rue* in his learned Remarks upon *Isidorus Pasensis*, and upon several other *Spanish* and *Moorish* Authors.

Guided by such great Masters, we shall use our utmost Endeavours to dissipate the Errors and Falsities with which the World has been hitherto prepossess'd, and shall neglect nothing in order to prevent confounding Truth with Fiction, being convinc'd that it is the greatest



est Piece of Service an Historian is capable of doing to the Learned Part of Mankind.

*Mahomet*, that famous Impostor, with a marvellous Address, found the fatal Secret of making himself the Head of a false Religion, which, even in its Infancy, rose almost to the utmost Summit of its Splendor; and by a Propagation as destructive to *Christianity* as detrimental to Secular Power, he was succeeded by the *Caliphs*, who were both Kings and Sovereign Pontiffs. The Word *Caliph* signifies *Lieutenant*. The first Place of Residence of these Princes was *Mecca*, and from thence, by their Vice-Roys, they govern'd very near One Third of the Universe.

It was, as we have already observ'd, under the Reign of \**Walid* the First, the Thirteenth *Caliph*, that *Moussa*, one of his *Emirs*, or Princes, Vice-Roy of *Africa*, undertook the Conquest of *Spain*, and had the good Fortune to succeed in his Enterprize, after the Manner we have related in the Second Book. Being oblig'd to return to *Africa* in the Year 715, (and not 718, as *Mariana* endeavours to persuade us) he left as Vice-Roy, or Governor General of his new Conquests, his Eldest Son *Abdelaziz*, a young Man full of Courage and Ambition. The Grandeur he enjoy'd would certainly have been very sufficient to content any but him, since the vast Distance he was from the *Caliph* gave him an intire Liberty to command all Things at his own Discretion with an Authority little inferior to that of a Sovereign. The *Christians* obey'd him with the grea-

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\* See Book I. Pag. 183.



ter Willingness and Alacrity, because, having marry'd Queen *Egilona*, Widow to the unfortunate King *Roderic*, he treated them with great Tenderneſs and Lenity. He obey'd the *Caliph's* Orders while that Sovereign exacted from him only a Submiſſion compatible with the Power he poſſeſs'd; but his Preſumption, at laſt, went ſo far as to aſpire at an independant Sovereignty. But as he had been only provisionally inveſted with that Government, and lay under an Uncertainty whether or no he ſhould be confirm'd in his Employ, he conceal'd his ambitious Views, fearing to be recall'd if he attempted to make any ſuch Motion in Publick, eſpecially ſince he knew his Father was out of Favour.



## REVOLUTION I.

716.



*ALID* being dead, his Brother *Suliman* was proclaim'd *Caliph*, and the firſt Thing he did after he was advanc'd to that ſupreme Dignity was to confirm *Abdelaziz* in his Government. How happy might he have been had he known how to make good Uſe of that Advantage! But devour'd by an immoderate Ambition, and excited by his Wife's Importunities, he yielded to her Sollicitations, and cauſ'd himſelf to be crown'd King. This Proceeding render'd his Sincerity to the *Muſſulman* Belief ſuſpected by all the *Moors*, who (out of a Religious Zeal, or perhaps ſollicitated by

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Book IV. *Revolutions in Spain.* 5

by the *Caliph*, who could not, without Regret, behold so delicious and opulent a Province dismember'd from his Empire) assassinated him in the great Mosque at *Seville*, after the Manner we have already observ'd, and of which we shall here say no more, to avoid unnecessary Repetitions. 717.

After the Death of *Abdelaziz*, the Government was, by the Chief Men among the *Moors*, conferr'd upon a certain Person nam'd *Ayub*, to manage Affairs till the *Caliph* should appoint a new Vice-Roy. The Choice fell upon *Alabor*, of whose Actions and Administration we have already treated. The *Caliph Suliman* dying, according to some Historians, on the First of *October*, or, as others say, on the Eighth, *Omar Ben \* Abdelaziz*, Cousin-Germain to the deceas'd *Caliph*, was invested with that Sovereign Dignity in his Stead; † and whether it was thro' any personal Antipathy he

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had

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\* In the French it is *Omar* (the Son of, or) *Ben Abdelmalic*, which is a Mistake, as see in Book II. Pag. 269. *Abdelmalic Ben Marwan* was the Fifth Caliph of the Family of the *Ommiades*, or *Beni Ommiah*. He was the Father of Sixteen Sons. He was, by Reason of his extreme Avarice, nicknam'd *Rash el Hageiret*, or The Sweat of Stones; and, for his pestiferous Breath, was call'd *Abou'l Zebab*, which is as much as to say, The Bane of Flies, because the Baneful Fumes which proceeded from his Mouth destroy'd all those Insects that came near it. He dream'd, That he made Water in the Porch of the Temple at *Mecca*, Four Times successively, which *Saad*, a very learned Arabian, interpreted, That Four of his Sons should be Caliphs, which, according to his Prediction, came to pass, viz. *Walid*, *Suliman*, (who was succeeded by this *Omar*, the Son of his Uncle *Abdelaziz*) *Jezid*, or rather *Yezid*, the Second, and *Hassem*.

† This seems to contradict what has been said upon this Head in Book II. Pag. 270, 271. Vide.

had against *Alabor*, or whether some secret Enemies had render'd his Conduct suspected to that Prince, is not certain, but he recall'd him, and gave that Government to *Zama*. Soon after this *Omar* died, and his Cousin *Jezid* (the Second) was install'd *Caliph* in his Place.

720. *Zama*, to testify his Zeal and Attention to the *Caliph's* Interest, continued the Review and exact Description of every individual Part of the *Moorish* Dominions in that Country, in order to be truly acquainted with the Strength or Weakness of each, that he might thereby regulate the Tributes and Imposts he was to exact from every Place. Having observ'd that the *Arabs* and *Moors* who first conquer'd *Spain*, had possess'd themselves of many Inheritances which had belong'd to such of the *Christians* as had lost their Lives, or were fled for Sanctuary to the Mountains, and held the same without any better Title than that of being the first Seizers of those Estates, he caus'd that Affair to be strictly examin'd into, and when he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with every Circumstance relating thereto, he permitted the Proprietors to keep what they had, upon Condition of paying a proportionable Tribute to the *Caliph*.

721. When *Zama* had intirely settled the Royal Revenue, he recall'd all the Troops his Predecessors had sent into the Northern Mountains of *Spain*, where they had been, from Time to Time, very ill treated by the *Christian* Refugees; and having incorporated those Forces with others he had rais'd in *Andalusia*, and those he had sent for out of *Africa*, he made up a very powerful Army, at the Head whereof he pass'd into the *Gothic-Gaul*, the principal



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pal Cities of which Province he visited, and carry'd his Arms into the Heart of *Aquitain*, which he destroy'd with Fire and Sword. He laid Siege to *Toulonse*, and press'd that Capital very vigorously, but was still more vigorously repuls'd by the Besieged. *Eudes*, or *Eudon*, Governor of that Province for the King of *France*, having Notice of the Danger that City was in, march'd in all Speed to its Relief; and finding a favourable Opportunity of making an advantageous Attack upon the *Barbarians*, he fell upon them, utterly defeated their whole Army, made himself Master of all their Baggage, and *Zama* remain'd dead on the Field of Battle. Those who found Means to save themselves by Flight, took Sanctuary in the neighbouring Places which were in Possession of the *Moors*, in the *Gothic-Gaul*, where *Abderhaman* was declar'd Governor till such Time as a new Vice-Roy should be nam'd.



### REVOLUTION II.



**E**UDON, having pursu'd the flying *Infidels* as far as *Carcassonne*, made himself Master of that Place, the Reduction whereof so terrify'd the Inhabitants of *Nîmes*, that to avoid exposing themselves to the Fury of the *French* Army, they shook off the Yoke of the *Barbarians*. About a Month after, the Vice-Roy of *Africa*, in Virtue of the Power given him by the *Caliph* to nominate a Governor or Vice-Roy of

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*Spain,*

Spain, by Reason of its great Distance from *Damascus*, (where the *Caliphs* kept their Court) 722. sent a certain *Saracen* Nobleman whose Name was *Ambiza*, (rather *Hamza*) who the better to ingratiate himself with the *Caliph*, resolv'd to augment his Revenue by making a Decree, That all Cities, Towns, and Villages which had been taken by Force of Arms should pay into the Royal Treasury One Fifth of their Yearly Incomes; and that those which had surrender'd without making Resistance should be oblig'd to pay only One Tenth.

723. At the same Time, the Affairs of the Church were in no less Agitation and Disorder than those of the State. A certain *Spanish Jew*, nam'd *Serenus*, having found Means, by his artful Insinuations, to persuade several People that he was the true *Messiah*, and that he would conduct them into *The Land of Promise*, where he was to establish his Throne, and where he promis'd they should enjoy all worldly Riches and Delights, they were so infatuated as to give Credit to his Lies, to abandon real Estates for chimerical Inheritances, and to follow this Impostor: Insomuch, that *Hamza*, making his Advantage of their Credulity, confiscated all their Leavings to the *Caliph's* Coffers. The Year 724. following *Jezid* died, and his Brother *Hassem* the First, was proclaim'd *Caliph*.

725. *Hamza*, being resolv'd to recover what *Zama* had lost in the *Gothic-Gaul*, march'd into that Province at the Head of a numerous Army, and having got Intelligence how Matters stood there, he recover'd *Carcassonne* and *Nîmes*. After this he penetrated into the King of *France's* Dominions, ravag'd the Districts of *Alby* and *Cahors*, and destroy'd an infinite Number  
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ber of *Christians*, amongst whom *Mundana*, Mother to St. *Sacerdos*, Bishop of *Limoges*, receiv'd the Crown of Martyrdom.

*Eudon*, Duke of *Aquitain*, hearing of these Disorders, went to encounter the *Barbarians*, attack'd their Army, and made so terrible a Slaughter among them, that the CHRONICLE of *Moyssac*, and the Library-Keeper *Anastafius*, in the Life of Pope *Gregory* the Second, assure us, That Three Hundred Sixty Five Thousand *Infidels* were left dead upon the Spot, and that this memorable Victory cost the *French* no more than Fifteen Hundred Men. But there is very little Probability that this Calculation can possibly be true, and it must certainly have happen'd, that those Manuscripts have been interpolated by some of the Transcribers, as the Abbot of *Longuerue* and Dr. *Ferreras* have very judiciously observ'd in correcting the Writings of *Paulus Diaconus*, and Father *Le Cointe*, who have confounded this Victory with others, a Thing they are very often guilty of, in Spite of all can be said by those who are blinded with their Prepossession in Favour of the last of those disingenuous Authors.

*Hamza*, quite in Despair for the Loss of this Battle, retir'd in the utmost Confusion imaginable; and the Year following, he got together all the Troops he could possibly raise, and began his March towards *France* to endeavour to be reveng'd: But he died in his Way thither, and before his Death, nam'd *Odera* (who had serv'd under him in Quality of Lieutenant General) for his Successor. It is no easy Matter to decide how long *Hamza* held his Post. *Isidor de Badajos* says, That he govern'd *Spain* almost Three Years: The CHRONICLE of *Albaida*




*baida* confines the Time of his Government to One Year: *Roderic de Toledo* seems to agree with the first of those Opinions, in saying, that he govern'd Two Years and an Half. A deplorable Consequence of the little Care the *Spaniards* have taken to preserve the Monuments of Antiquity! which so often drive the Historians to the wretched Necessity of having Recourse to Conjectures and Sequels of Occurrences to deduce the *Epocha's* of Facts to carry some Face of Probability.

A Month after *Hamza's* Death, the Vice-Roy of *Africa* gave the Government of *Spain* to One whose Name was *Tabia*, in whose Time there happen'd nothing remarkable, whether it was that the *Moors* were not in a Condition to undertake any Enterprize of Moment, or that there was a Suspension of Hostilities between the *Christians* and them, is uncertain.

728. *Tabia* being recall'd, *Odiffa*, or *Cadoysa*, was appointed for his Successor. This was a Man of a very indifferent Capacity, and who blunder'd in every Thing he took in Hand. The *Moors* complain'd of his Administration to the *Caliph*, and their Complaints appear'd so just and reasonable, that that Prince recall'd him, and sent one *Othoman* in his Stead. It is not positively known if this new Governor was only sent for a While, or whether he was depos'd by the *Caliph* for his irregular Conduct; but it is certain, that Four Months after his Instalment, he was remov'd, and one *Alcatan* succeeded him.
- 729.



REVOLUTION



### REVOLUTION III.



**T**HIS Man had no sooner got the Reins of the Government into his Hands, but he made a strict and very exact Perquisition of all those particular Persons who were possess'd of any Estate without having a legitimate Title thereto, all which, upon Discovery, he appropriated to the *Caliph's* Use, which Procedure so highly exasperated the *Arabs* and *Moors*, that all the Chiefs amongst them enter'd into a Conspiracy against him. But *Alcatan* having got Intelligence of their Designs, he caus'd the Conspirators to be apprehended, many of whom expir'd under the Hands of the Executioner, and the Effects of all were confiscated. Amongst those whose Lives he took away there was One Person of the greatest Distinction, whose Name was *Zato*, a Man of immense Riches, and held in the highest Estimation by all the People. Another, nam'd *Abderhaman*, of almost the same Rank and Condition, had infallibly met the same Fate, if he had not opportunely sav'd himself by Flight.

*Zato*, and many of the others who had lost their Lives upon that Occasion had very powerful Relations in *Africa*, who, bitterly enrag'd against *Alcatan* for the Insult he had done to their Families, carry'd their Complaint to the Vice-Roy, and gave him a long Detail of all  
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the Excesses that Governor had been guilty of, with a particular Account of the Troubles and Disorders he had caus'd in every Part of his Government: Upon which the Vice-Roy instantly sent one *Mabimen* over to *Spain*, with Orders to call him to Account according to Law, and to punish him with the utmost Severity in Case he should be found guilty of the Crimes of which he stood accus'd, and to establish the above-mention'd *Abderhaman* Governor in his Room. *Mabimen*, after having prov'd him guilty of all the Misdemeanors had been laid to his Charge, order'd him to be arrested, caus'd him to be shav'd in Token of Infamy, his Hands to be tied behind him, and himself put upon an Afs, commanding, that in this Plight he should be led all over the City of *Cordoua*, and that when he had been whipp'd at every Street's End, he should be sent over in Chains to the Vice-Roy.

730. Two Months after, *Abderhaman*, who all this while had keep himself closely conceal'd, being now satisfy'd that he had nothing to fear, appear'd in Publick and was put in Possession of the Government. His first Care was to make a rigorous and diligent Search for all those who had usurp'd any Thing belonging to the Publick Treasury; and under Pretext of regulating and taking Care of the *Caliph's* Rights, he perplex'd the People to such a Degree, that *Munuza*, Governor of *Celtiberia* and *Catalonia*, incens'd at the ill Treatment he us'd towards his Countrymen, determin'd to rise up in Arms to oppose his Proceedings.





## REVOLUTION IV.



HIS Revolter communicated his Design to several Persons of the greatest Consideration; and the better to succeed in the Schemes he had laid, he contracted an Alliance with *Eudon*, Duke of *Aquitain*, to make sure of whom he promis'd to marry one of his Daughters. Duke *Eudon*, reflecting upon the great Mischief the *Mahometans* did in his Territories, concluded, that in fomenting the Factions and Seditions which began to arise amongst those *Infidels* in *Spain*, he might put his own Province under Cover from their Insults; so that, preferring his Interest to his Religion, he enter'd into an Alliance with *Munuza*, gave him his Daughter in Marriage, and they made a solemn Promise mutually to assist each other upon all Occasions.

*Abderhaman* hearing of this Conspiracy, with the utmost Diligence set on Foot a potent Army and went in Person towards *Saragossa* in order to chastise him who had been the chief Fomenter of the Infurrection, and all his Abettors. *Munuza*, who till then imagin'd, that his Designs had been a Secret to all but to those whose Interest it was to favour them, finding himself taken unawares and wholly unprovided, and being not at all able to make Head against so powerful an Enemy, made  
all

all possible Haste out of the City, follow'd by all his Partisans, and retir'd to the least accessible Parts of the *Pyrenean Mountains*, to get out of the Reach of the Storm that threaten'd him, having first put his Treasure and his Wife into the Castle of *Ceret* in *Roussillon*. *Abderhaman* having Notice of his Flight, follow'd him into the Mountains, and press'd him so very close, that finding himself wholly depriv'd of all Means of escaping, he threw himself headlong from the Top of a Rock, preferring a voluntary Death to the Shame of falling alive into the Power of him who would assuredly cause him to die by the Hand of the Executioner. *Abderhaman* no sooner was inform'd of what that Rebel's Despair had caus'd him to do, but he went and besieg'd the Castle of *Ceret*, carry'd it by Assault, put the whole Garrison to the Sword, and convey'd away all his Treasure with Duke *Eudon's* unhappy Daughter, whose enchanting Beauty rais'd his Compassion, insomuch that he spar'd her Life, and some Time after sent her to the *Caliph*. Not long after this, *Abderhaman* being kill'd, as we shall observe in another Place, *Abdelmelic* was sent into *Spain* to succeed him in the Government.

733.

The *Caliph* could not possibly have done any Thing more prejudicial to his own Interest, or to that of his Subjects than he did in giving the Government into the Hands of such a Man as *Abdelmelic*. He was a perfect Monster in Nature disguis'd under human Form. His darling and most predominant Vices were Avarice and Lust, which alternately govern'd him. To satisfy those Two infamous Passions he violated and trampled under Foot all Laws, and

and made the oppress'd People groan under the intolerable Load of Cruelty and Injustice. The Honour of the chafteft Women became a Prey to his insatiable Wantonness; upon the least Pretext in the World he seiz'd upon all he thought proper for his Use; all Preferments were sold, nor could any Body ever flatter himself with the Hopes of rising by his Merit. The Disorder and Confusion he caus'd every where arriv'd to that Excess, that the People were forc'd to send the *Caliph* Notice of his Irregularities; upon which he exhorted him to put a Stop to the Murmurs and Complaints that were made against him, or he would certainly recall him. Any other but he would have corrected his Conduct; but he was too much harden'd in Wickedness ever to hearken to the Voice of Reason. He carry'd his Tyranny to such a Pitch, that *Hassem*, the *Caliph* found himself oblig'd to name *Aucupa*, or *Ocba* to supply his Place, and to give him Orders to call him to Justice, as likewise all the subordinate Alcaydes or Governors whom he had establish'd.

737.

When *Ocba* had taken Possession of the Government, he caus'd *Abdelmelic* to be arrested, as he likewise did all the Alcaydes who had been any Ways instrumental to the Tyrannies and Disorders he had committed. Those who were found guilty he punish'd with the utmost Severity of the Law. After this, he sedulously apply'd himself to establish a good and regular Form of Government amongst the People, and settled all Accounts relating to the *Caliph's* Revenue, the which he augmented very considerably. Understanding, that, in all the *Moorish* Dominions in *Spain*, there were



- an almost infinite Number of useless People, he sent them all over to *Africa*, to be distributed in the Garrisons of that Country. In a Word, he neglected nothing that was requisite to make Tranquillity, Peace, and Abundance reign amongst the Subjects of the *Caliph*, his Sovereign, having a strict Regard to the particular Interests of all in general, not suffering the *Arabs* and *Moors* to offer the least Injury or Insult to the *Christian* Subjects, which unhappy People, under the fatal Misfortune of their cruel Destiny which had reduc'd them to be under an *Infidel* Yoke, pour'd forth their Thanksgivings to Heaven for having sent them a Governor so good and equitable. About the
739. same Time the *Morabites*, miserably oppress'd by the excessive Tributes the *Caliph* extorted from them, rais'd a most furious Tempest in *Africa*. *Omar*, the Vice-Roy of that Province, was kill'd by those Rebels in a Battle, and the City of *Tangier* taken by Assault. *Ocha* had Orders to go and appease those Disturbances, and fully answer'd the great Idea the *Caliph* had conceiv'd of his extraordinary Valour and Prudence. Upon his Arrival there, the Weapons fell out of the Revolters Hands, the Ring-Leaders were punish'd, the rest pardon'd, and the Pacificator return'd into *Spain* laden with Honour. He died soon after his Return; and before his Death, the Necessity of the present Juncture of Affairs induc'd him to resolve to release *Abdelmelic* from his Prison, and to name him to officiate at the Helm till the *Caliph* should appoint a new Governor.
- 740.

REVOLUTION



## REVOLUTION V.



NOT long after *Abdelmelic* had taken the Reins of the Government into his Hands, the *Africans*, who had settled in *Spain* ever since the first Conquest of that Country, rose up in Arms against the *Asiaticks*, or *Arabs*; and having forc'd them into the most Northern Parts of the *Mahometan* Dominions in that *Peninsula*, they made themselves Masters of all that Part of the Country call'd *Tierra de Campos*, and of all *Aragon* except the City of *Saragossa*; so that in a Moment a most bloody War was kindled amongst those *Infidels*. The anonymous *Andalusian* imagines, that it was fomented by the Rebels of *Mauritania*, but produces no Manner of Proof. If we might give any Credit to *Marmol's* CHRONOLOGY, we must be oblig'd to believe, that a certain *Arabian*, whose Name was *El Miçimiçi* (rather *El Miçimesh*) was the Author of that Revolt. But this Historian accompanies the Account he gives of that Fact with so many Falsities and *Anacronisms*, that one cannot have the least Dependance upon any one Particular of what he delivers upon this Subject. What is the most to be depended upon is, That *Abdelmelic* perceiving so terrible a Combustion just ready to destroy all his Sovereign the Caliph was possess'd of in *Spain*, demanded of *Belgi*, Vice-Roy of *Africa*, a speedy Suc-

741.

742.

cour to extinguish it; and that, having receiv'd a stout Body of Troops, commanded by one *Abderhaman Ben Habib*, he set out in order to attack the Rebels. The revolted *Moors* having Notice of his March, re-united themselves into One Body, and then again divided their Forces into Three Armies, One of which took the Way towards the Sea to make Head against *Abderhaman*, Another advanc'd to engage *Abdelmelic*, and the Third went to besiege *Toledo*, the Inhabitants of which City had refus'd to have any Hand in this Domestick War.

*Abdelmelic* having Intelligence of their Designs, laid aside the Execution of the Project he had form'd of falling upon them with his whole Power, and following their Example, he divided his Army into Three Bodies, One whereof was committed to the Conduct of his Son *Humeya*, with Orders to go and relieve *Toledo*: One *El Mazabor* had the Command of the Second, and it was determin'd that he should march to meet those who were appointed to attack *Abdelmelic*, while that Governor put himself at the Head of the Third Army, in order to be in a Readiness to march where ever his Assistance should be most necessary.

The Standards of *Humeya* having appear'd at some Distance from *Toledo*, the Besiegers left before that City a certain Number of Troops to keep it block'd up, and march'd with the rest to meet him Four Leagues off, fully resolv'd to give him Battle. This young General being no less resolute than they, nor a whit less eager to come to Blows, it was not long before the Fight began. The Rebels were routed and cut to Pieces, those who escap'd



escap'd the Sword betook themselves to a precipitate Flight, and *Humeja*, cover'd with Victory, made a triumphant Entry into *Toledo*. While Matters pass'd thus in *Castile*, they were nothing better in the Neighbourhood of *Cordoua* and all *Andalusia*. *El Mazabor* attack'd that Body of the *Moorish* Army which had gone against *Abdelmelic*, gave them a total Defeat, and enrich'd himself with their Spoils.

*Abdelmelic* hearing of these Two memorable Victories march'd to join *El Mazabor*, and then with their united Forces they fell upon the Rebel-Army which was waiting for *Belgi* upon the Sea-Coast, and cut them to Pieces; infomuch, that all who escap'd the Slaughter retir'd to their own Abodes in the greatest Disorder, and those Commotions were all appeas'd for the present; but soon after there arose a Tempest incomparably more furious, and more difficult to be appeas'd, as we shall presently understand.



## REVOLUTION VI.

**T**HE News of those Three notable Victories was no sooner spread throughout *Africa*, but *Belgi* pass'd over with all Speed into *Spain* with the Intent of withdrawing the Troops he had sent thither in order to conduct them into *Syria*, where the *Caliph* greatly wanted his Assistance. To this Purpose, he demanded Shipping of *Abdelmelic*, who not only refus'd

him that Request, but likewise would not consent he should withdraw the Forces he had lent him, telling him, That he himself had present Occasion for them for the Security of his own People and Government. Some Time after he would have sent them Home to *Africa*, where their Presence, he said, would soon be wanted: But the *African* Soldiers, accusom'd to the Regales of that delicious Country, and egg'd on by the revengeful *Belgi*, peremptorily told him, That they would sooner lose their Lives than leave *Spain*; at which Answer *Abdelmelic* was so enrag'd, that he made them feel the utmost Effects of his Ferocity, upon which they all took to their Arms, broke, in a tumultuous Manner, into the great Court belonging to *Abdelmelic's* Palace, and having first cut the Throats of all his Guards, they assassinated him in his own private Apartment.

743. During these Transactions *Hassem* died in the Month of *February*, this Year, and *Walid* (*Ben Jezid Ben Abdelmelic*) the Second, his Nephew, was advanc'd to that supreme Dignity. *Marmol* makes him to be a Prince of an affable and pacifick Disposition: But as a Proof of the little Credit ought to be given to his Assertion, it suffices to know, That, by a pitiful Contradiction, he makes him sustain long and bloody Wars during a Reign of Nineteen Years Continuance, notwithstanding all the good Historians assure us, that he did not reign \* One whole Year, since he died in the Month of *February*, this Year. But let

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\* D'Herbelot says One Year and Two Months.

let us return to what follow'd *Abdelmelic's* Assassination, whose Death his Son *Humeya* resolv'd to revenge at the Hazard of his own Life.

As he was not able to bring about an Enterprize of that Consequence without Assistance, he demanded that of *Abderhaman Labemien*, Governor of *Narbonne*, a Man of very great Courage, who went to join him with a considerable Body of Troops. *Belgi* on his Side exerted himself as much as possible to increase his own Army, and soon found himself in a Capacity to make Head against his Enemy. There happen'd several Rencounters between the Two Armies; and as the Generals were spurr'd on by the implacable Hatred they bore each other, it is not to be wonder'd at if they fought with an Excess of Fury which nearly resembled a savage Ferocity. Whole Torrents of Blood were spilt on either Side, and what was most to be lamented, was, that an infinite Number of *Christians*, who, either spontaneously, or by Compulsion, had embraced that of the Two Factions for which they had most Inclination, miserably perish'd. For a considerable Time the Victory seem'd dubious and wavering, inclining now to *Humeya's* Side and anon to *Belgi's*; but at last, in a very bloody Engagement they had in the Neighbourhood of *Cordona*, it declar'd for the First. *Belgi's* Army was routed and cut to Pieces, himself escap'd out of the Field by a precipitate Flight, and died some Time after of his Wounds.

After the Death of *Belgi*, his Lieutenant *Thoaba* got together the broken Fragments of his Army, re-inforc'd it with some fresh Troops,



and resolv'd to venture a Second Battle; but finding *Humeya* to be still far superior to himself in the Number of his Forces, he broke up his Camp and retir'd to *Merida*, where he was besieg'd for some Time, and was in great Danger of being taken: But whether it was that the Besiegers presum'd too much upon the Advantage they had over him, or that they did not take the necessary Precautions, he found Means to surprize them, and utterly defeated them. Never did any Victor abuse a Victory with so much Cruelty as did the revengeful *Thoaba*.

747.

The Vice-Roy of *Africa* being inform'd of the intestine Dissentions with which *Spain* was torn in Pieces, immediately sent thither a certain *African* Commander, whose Name was *Abou'l Catar*, a Person of Prudence and Moderation, and who had a great Share of personal Bravery. Upon his Arrival, he us'd his best Endeavours to extinguish the Flames of those Misunderstandings, but they rag'd with too great a Violence to be so soon appeas'd or smother'd. The Revolters had amongst themselves establish'd an Alliance which neither his Prudence nor his Authority were ever able to dissolve; with so much Facility could they communicate with each other. So desperate a Disease requir'd a no less desperate Cure; and he could think of no better Expedient than to send *Thoaba* and *Abderhaman Ben Habib* over to *Africa*, under the Pretext of securing the Two *Mauritania* from the Calamities with which they were threaten'd by those Factions. Their Departure was not sufficient to re-establish Tranquillity in the State. *Athana-  
gild*

*nagild*, Successor to the gallant *Theodomir*, of whom we have made frequent Mention in the Second Book, greatly contributed towards the fomenting those Disturbances, and under-hand favour'd the Party of *Thoaba*, who was still in Being, and waited only for a favourable Occasion to appear again in Arms. *Abou'l Catar*, in order to put him out of Conceit of making any Motions to disturb the Publick Repose, condemn'd him to pay a Fine of Twenty Seven Thousand *Soldi*, which was, in those Days, a very great Sum of Money. *Athanagild* sent Notice of this Sentence to his Friend *Thoaba*, who instantly came over into Spain at the Head of an Army, whereat *Abou'l Catar* was so terrify'd, that he revok'd the Sentence of the Fine he had pronounc'd against him.

Amidst these Disorders, *Walid* the Caliph died on the Sixteenth Day of *April*, and his Son *Jezid* the Third was declar'd his Successor. His Death re-involv'd Spain in all the Com-bustions and Disturbances with which it had been before agitated, but they were all appeas'd by the Prudence and excellent Conduct of *Abou'l Catar*.

*Marmol* says, That *Jezid* reign'd One Year, in which Time he made himself Master of the Island of *Cyprus* during the Wars between *Constantine* and *Altobazus*, and that after having sack'd it, he caus'd all the Inhabitants to be transported into *Syria*. But this Historian is mistaken in his Calculation; since, according to the Opinion of *Isidor de Badajos*, a contemporary Author of *Eutichus*, of the anonymous *Andalusian*, of *El Macin*, and of

746. *Roderic de Toledo*, he reign'd but \* Two Months. This Prince was so extremely zealous for his false Religion, that he commanded the Tongue of the Patriarch of *Damascus* to be cut out, and banish'd him into *Arabia Fælix*, because he preach'd publickly against the Sect of the *Manicheens*, and made some Reflexions upon *Mahometism*. He carry'd the natural Severity of his Temper so far, that the *Saracens*, no longer able to endure that insupportable Burden, assassinated him. The same *Marmol* pretends, That one *Hassem Aben Alas*, whom he supposes to have been his Son, succeeded him; but he is grossly mistaken; for he was succeeded by *Ibrahim* his Brother.



## REVOLUTION VII.



**S**CARCE was *Ibrahim* advanc'd to that sovereign Dignity, but the *Saracens* chose one *Marwan*, Governor of † *Ægypt*, which occasion'd great Troubles amongst the *Syrians*, the *Ægyptians*, and the *Arabs*: The *Syrians* stood firm to the Interest of *Ibrahim*, and the *Arabs* and *Ægyptians* sided with *Marwan*, who, according to several Historians, made a Truce with the Emperor *Constantine*, upon Con-

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\* D'Herbelot says Six Months.

† D'Herbelot says in Two or Three Places, (and I believe with Reason) of *Mesopotamia*.



Condition to pay him yearly Three Hundred Thousand *Besants* of Gold, Three Hundred Horses, Three Hundred Slaves, and to relinquish to him all the *Arabs* were possess'd of in *Thrace*; upon which Conditions the Emperor engag'd himself to assist him upon all Occasions.

While *Syria* was agitated and torn in Pieces with these *Revolutions*, those which happen'd in *Spain* were nothing less prejudicial to the *Saracen* Interest, the Circumstances whereof, though of very great Importance to the true Understanding of the History of that Country, have been written with so little Exactness by the *Spanish* Historians, that Dr. *Ferreras* cannot avoid very much exclaiming against their Negligence. But, happily for the Publick, the learned Notes the Abbot *Longuerue* has made upon the *Arabian* Historians, have put us in the Way to come to an exact Knowledge of those Particulars, which we think ourselves oblig'd to impart to our Readers.

*Abou'l Catar*, in Spite of all his Prudence and Policy, so far forgot himself amidst all those Disturbances with which *Spain* was so miserably harass'd, that instead of taking Care, by his good Treatment, to manage the turbulent Spirits of the People, in order to keep them in their Duty, he insulted several Persons of great Distinction, and, in particular, one whose Name was *Zumael*, or *Ismael*. This wrong Step was attended by such fatal Consequences, that all *Abou'l Catar's* Authority was not sufficient to stop the Course thereof.

747.



## REVOLUTON VIII.



**I****SMAEL**, fully bent upon Revenge, did not only arm against his Enemy all the Friends he had in *Spain*, but likewise call'd in to his Assistance *Thoaba*, who, follow'd by all the *Syrian* Troops under his Command, with the utmost Expedition, left *Africa*, and pass'd over into *Andalusia*, where he found *Ismael* with his own Forces and those of his Friends and Allies, of all which *Thoaba* was made General. *Abou'l Catar*, on his Side, had neglected nothing to increase his Army, and flatter'd himself that it would have been sufficiently powerful to encounter and triumph over the Forces of those Rebels; but found himself very much deceiv'd in his Calculation: For being attack'd by the Enemy, he was intirely defeated and made Prisoner in a Battle they fought near *Xeres*. *Thoaba* was so highly elevated by this Victory, that, without Loss of Time, he went to Besiege *Cordona*, made himself Master of that City, took upon himself the Government, and caus'd *Abou'l Catar* to be imprison'd in a Castle.

748. At the End of this Year, *Thoaba* died, and those of his Faction chose one *Iusouf* to succeed him, without staying for the Orders or Approbation neither of the Vice-Roy of *Africa*, nor of the *Caliph*, which Procedure caus'd new Dissentions and Commotions in the State,  
by

by the Opposition that *Abderhaman Be'l Cassim* made against his Instalment, as we shall presently see. But before we enter upon those Matters, it is necessary we should be acquainted with what pass'd in *Syria*, because of the Connexion the Affairs of that Province had with the *Revolutions* which happen'd in *Spain*.

After *Marwan* was possess'd of the Caliphship, *Thebit*, *Data*, and *Suliman*, Three *Arabian* Chiefs, rebell'd against him. *Data* slew his Son with his own Hand, which incens'd the *Caliph* to that Degree, that he pursu'd him with the utmost Vigour and Fury, and having taken both him and *Thebit*, he caus'd them to be put to Death. *Suliman* was so terrify'd at their Fate, that he abandon'd the Faction and fled for Sanctuary to *Persia*. 749.

The Emperor \**Constantine*, taking his Advantage of the Perplexity *Marwan's* Affairs were in, broke the Truce he had settled with the *Saracens*, made an Irruption into *Syria*, and took several Places: But the Death of *Data* and *Thebit*, together with *Suliman's* Flight, having enabled *Marwan* to re-unite his Forces, he employ'd them against the Emperor, and recover'd all the Places he had lost, and after that went and invested *Emissa*, which he took after a Siege of Four Months.

While *Marwan* was engag'd in that War with the Emperor, *Suliman* reviv'd in *Persia* the Sect which had its Original from one *Muſtar*, (rather *Mokhtar*) maintaining, That *Aly* was a greater Prophet than *Mahomet*; and having assum'd

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\* In the French it is *Constans*, which seems a Contradiction to what is said before in Pag. 24, 25.



sum'd the Title of † *Emir el Moslimeen*, or *Emir el Moumineen*, (i. e. The Commander of the Faithful) he prevail'd with almost all the Servants in the Country to rise up in Arms against their Masters, from whence is deriv'd the Original of the Factions of the *Lamonites* and the *Caismores*, one of which Parties embrac'd One Sect, as the Other Party follow'd the opposite Persuasion: Himself was the Head of the First, under which Quality he drew upon him *Iblin*, Lieutenant-General to *Marwan*, and Governor of the Province, who came against him with an Army of One Hundred Thousand Men. According to all human Appearance, both he and his whole Party ran the greatest Danger in the World of being every one cut to Pieces, considering the vast Disproportion of their respective Armies. But fortunately for him, the *Lamonites*, looking upon him as a sanctify'd Person, tho' far inferior (as I have observ'd) to their Enemies in Number, made a most desperate Fight, and carry'd the Victory. Being highly elated with this scarce-to-be-hop'd-for Success, they fiercely march'd against *Marwan* himself, who was at the Head of Three Hundred Thousand Fighting-Men, a great Part of which Army they destroy'd near the River *Zaban*, and forc'd him, with his Wife and Children, to flee for Refuge into *Mesopotamia*.

During his Absence, *Abdallah-Saffah*, (commonly call'd *Abou'l Abbas Saffah*) of the Family of the *Abbasides*, or *Beni Abbas*, and Nephew to *Suliman*, caus'd himself to be proclaim'd

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† This is what the Spaniards, and most Europeans after them, corruptly call *Miramalolin*.

claim'd *Caliph* by the principal Chiefs of the *Saracens*. *Marwan*, notwithstanding he was vanquish'd, fugitive, and devested of his Sovereignty, lost not his Courage. Being resolv'd either to recover his Throne or to die, he pass'd into *Ægypt*, where he got together a great Number of Forces. He was pursu'd thither by *Suliman*, and they were not long before they came to Blows, in a Place which *Isidor de Badajos* names *Acimun*, but *El Macin* calls *Bu-firi Coridusi*. They fought for Two whole Days without either Party getting any Advantage; but on the Third the Victory declar'd for *Suliman*. *Marmol* says, That *Marwan* was taken Prisoner, and that his Enemy caus'd his Head, and those of all his Tribe he could lay Hands on, to be cut off. But *Dr. Ferreras* assures us, That he died in the Battle, and grounds this his Opinion upon the Sentiments of *Isidor de Badajos*, *El Macin*, *Eutichus*, *Roderic de Toledo*, and *D'Herbelot*. The Remnants of his Army dispers'd themselves throughout *Mauritania* and *Spain*. This Prince was the last of the Family of the *Ommiades*, whom the *Spaniards*, in their Language, call \* *Aben Humeya*. In the mean While, tho' *Abou'l Abbas Saffah* did his best to exterminate the whole Race by cutting the Throats of Eighty of that Family in One Day, he could not accomplish his Design. It was written in the Book of the Decrees of Fate, That the *Ommiades* should, in Time, be the Destruction of the *Abbasfides*.

*Muhabia*

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\* Those few *Spaniards* who call them so are pretty near the right, the true Arabick Name being *Beni Ommiah*, or the Sons of *Ommiah*.

*Muhabia* (rather *Mauwia*) and *Abderhaman*, his Son, having found Means to escape the destructive Swords of those their mortal Enemies, fled for Refuge into the Extremities of *Africa*, where they waited a favourable Occasion of re-establishing the Authority their Fathers had held in *Spain*, where they had a very powerful Party ready to take Arms in Favour of their Cause. Before we conduct them thither, it is necessary to return to the Course of our Narrative, which we have interrupted to make some Mention of the Fall of the *Ommiade* Family, which is to serve for a Foundation to the most remarkable Events of our History.

The *Arabs*, excited by *Abderhaman Be'l Cassim*, as much incens'd and scandaliz'd to behold *Abou'l Catar* confin'd in an obscure Dungeon, as to see the Reins of the Government in the Hands of *Tusouf*, resolv'd to procure the Liberty of the One, and to take away the Life of the Other. In order to this, they all took to their Arms, and taking the Advantage of a dark Night, they forc'd the Castle where *Abou'l Catar* was kept Prisoner, set him at Liberty, and re-establish'd him in the Government. Upon the Rumour of this Insurrection, *Ismael* hasten'd with a very considerable Number of Troops, dispers'd the Conspirators, seiz'd *Abou'l Catar*, and caus'd him to be put to Death.

751. Had *Tusouf* but known how to contain himself within the Bounds of Moderation, he might have enjoy'd an undisturb'd Tranquillity. But having Intelligence that the *Abbassides* had de-thron'd the *Ommiades*, he abandon'd himself so far to an unbounded and immoderate Ambition,



bition, that, refusing to acknowledge the *Caliph's* Authority, he laid a Design of setting up himself as an independent Sovereign.



## REVOLUTION IX.



*HAMAR*, unable to suffer the Insolence and Presumption of this rash Usurper, enter'd into an Alliance with several *Mahometans* of Distinction, and declar'd open War against him. The Usurper us'd all possible Means to dissipate that Storm, but neither his Intreaties nor his Promises had the least Effect; so that, he found himself reduc'd to the Necessity of having Recourse to Arms to maintain himself in his State of Independency: And as he had no surer Friend to trust to than *Ismael*, he gave him the Command of his Troops. The Two Armies being met in the Neighbourhood of *Saragossa*, they fought a bloody Battle; in which *Ismael* was worsted, and obliged to retire into *Saragossa*, where *Hamar* besieg'd him. For some Time he stood his Ground, and made a good Defence, in Expectation that *Tusouf* would have sent him Assistance; but finding none came, and perceiving that the Inhabitants of that City began to be weary of that tedious Siege, which had reduc'd them to the last Extremities of Misery, he made his Escape by Night, for Fear they should deliver him up to the Enemy. Immediately upon

752.

753.

upon his Departure, *Hamar* enter'd the City, and pardon'd all the Inhabitants.

754. In the Month of *June*, this Year, died *Abou'l-Abbas Saffah*, First Caliph of the Family of the *Abbassides*, and was succeeded by his Brother *Abou-Giafar* (surnam'd *Almansor*, or rather, rightly speaking, *El Mansoor*.)

Before we proceed any farther, we cannot dispense with giving our Readers Notice, that they cannot use too much Precaution against the Fables with which *Marmol* has stuff'd the Sixteenth Chapter of his *History of Africa*: For besides his utterly overthrowing all Chronology by advancing Ten Years in *Saffah's* Election to the *Caliphship*, and Twenty Seven in his Death, since he sets him up in 760, and makes him die in 781, whereas *Isidor de Badajos*, *Roderic de Toledo*, *El Macin*, and *Eutichus* positively fix the *Epocha* of his Advancement to the Throne in 750, and that of his Decease in 754; besides all this, I say, he divides the *Caliphship* into Five Parts, the First of which he gives to a pretended *Amir-Zulciman*, for *Persia*; the Second to an imaginary *Abou-Baba Ben Mahomet*, for *Syria*; the Third to *Abderhaman Ben Humeya*, for *Spain*; the Fourth to *Saffah* himself, in *Arabia*; and the Fifth to a certain chimerical *Celin*, surnam'd the *Lame*, for *Ægypt*. Not content with having establish'd all these *Dynasties* out of his own Head, without the least Manner of Foundation, he makes *Abderhaman* to be King of *Cordoua*, during *Saffah's* Life, notwithstanding it is plainly demonstrated by the Attestation of the anonymous *Andalusian*, of the CHRONICLE of *Albaida*, and of several other grave Historians, That he did not come over from  
*Africa*,

*Africa*, into *Spain*, till towards the End of the Month of *September*, in the Second Year of the Reign of *Abon-Giafar*, as *Dr. Ferreras* has perfectly well observ'd in the Fourth TOME of his *History of Spain*, under the Year 755, ARTICLE IV.

*Tusouf* was no sooner inform'd that *Hamer* 755. had made himself Master of *Saragossa*, but he put himself at the Head of a powerful Army, and advanc'd by long Marches towards the Frontiers of *Aragon*, where he met with no Manner of Resistance. *Hamer* being not at all in a Condition to keep the Field in Opposition to an Enemy so very superior in the Number of his Troops, he retir'd into *Saragossa*, where he flatter'd himself he might be able to make a Defence from those Ramparts till such Time as Relief should be sent him. *Tusouf* having laid close Siege to him, he was deliver'd up into the Hands of his Enemy by the Inhabitants of the City, who by that Means sav'd themselves from being plunder'd.

*Tusouf* grown proud with having had that Success so advantageous to his Affairs, imagin'd none was able to resist him. With this presumptuous Assurance, he gave *Saliman-Icabab* a good Body of Troops with Orders to go and recover *Pamplona*, which City the *Christians* had taken from the *Moors*. But *Don Alphonso* the *Catholick*, having Notice of that General's Motion, march'd out to encounter him, attack'd him very furiously, gave him a notable Overthrow, and oblig'd him to take the Way towards *Saragossa*, whither he returned with the wretched Fragments of his vanquish'd Army.



While all these Things were transacting in Spain, *Abderhaman*, who, as we have already observ'd, had fled, with his Father *Mauwia*, from the Persecution of the *Abbasides*, carry'd on a secret Correspondence with several great Men of *Andalusia* who were attach'd to the Interests of the Family of *Ommiah*; and having understood from them, that there were great Numbers of Male-contented, he sent thither a Person in whom he could intirely confide, whose Name was *Beder*, to try to make a League powerful enough to assist him to recover the Throne of which his Family had been unjustly depriv'd.

*Beder* being arriv'd in *Andalusia* at the Juncture when *Tusouf* was in *Aragon*, adroitly took the Advantage of that favourable Opportunity to put his Master's Orders in Execution. The greatest Part of the Nobility, exasperated against the Governors, and very much dispos'd to shake off the Yoke of those Tyrants, to set up a King of the House of *Ommiah* capable of governing them without the Intervention either of the *Caliphs*, or of the Vice-Roys of *Africa*, came to an Agreement with *Beder*, That, provided *Abderhaman* could but bring over with him a few Troops from *Mauritania*, they would join with him, and would give him all the Assistance necessary to place him upon the Throne. This being agreed upon, *Beder* repass'd the Sea to carry that good News to his Master.

A Crown has Charms too attractive to an ambitious Person not to determine him to undertake all Things to obtain it, and *Abderhaman* was too well acquainted with its Value to be indifferent to the Offers which were made him :

him: Infomuch, that having demanded the Assistance of his Friends, he departed from *Africa* with some Forces, and landed at *Al-muñecar*, where the Confederates were waiting his Coming with the utmost Impatience. Immediately upon his Arrival the Air resounded with the loud Repetitions of his Name. He was call'd The *Restorer* of the Nation's *Glory*, and a great many Cities set open their Gates to receive him.



## REVOLUTION X.



*USQUF* having Information of this fatal Event, left *Saragossa*, and with all possible Expedition, hasten'd towards *Andalusia*, with the Design of extinguishing the Flames of that Rebellion in their very Birth. But how inexpressible was his Astonishment when he understood, That the Troops he had left in *Aragon*, with Orders to follow him with all Speed, refus'd to obey him, excusing themselves upon Account of the Rigour of the Season, which would not permit them to undertake a March of One Hundred and Fifty Leagues just at the Beginning of Winter. This his Army's Disobedience appear'd to him as a very bad Omen, and seem'd to presage the compleating of that Misfortune which threaten'd him.

When *Yusuf* arriv'd at *Cordona*, he found the Evil incomparably greater than he had imagin'd it to be. Every Body made all the Haste they could to repair to *Abderhaman's*

756.

Standard, the Number of Revolters increas'd every Day more and more, their Army swelled apace, and all Things seem'd dispos'd towards the Coronation of his Competitor. In short, upon the Fifteenth Day of *March* *Abderhaman* was solemnly proclaim'd King in *Archidona*; in the Month of *April* he was receiv'd in Triumph into *Seville*, and a few Days after he found himself strong enough to march and attack *Tusouf*, whose Army lay encamp'd in the Neighbourhood of *Cordona*, upon the Banks of the River *Guadalquivir*. As this great River was not fordable by Reason of the great Rains that had lately fallen, the Two Armies remain'd several Days looking upon each other without being able to come to Blows. During this Interval there were some Proposals made towards an Accommodation. Nevertheless nothing was concluded upon, and the Matter must of Necessity be decided by Way of Arms. *Abderhaman*, more attentive than his Enemy upon what he had to do, observing that the River was considerably fallen, made an Attempt to pass it, and getting over without being perceiv'd, went and attack'd the Enemy in his Camp. *Tusouf*, notwithstanding he was taken unawares, receiv'd him fiercely, and it may be truly said, that he did all whatever could be expected from a great Soldier and General; but in Spite of all the Efforts he made, he was beaten, and forc'd, with the Fragments of his Army, to betake himself to Flight, without stopping till he came to *Toledo*. Upon this Victory, *Cordona*, which till then had stood firm for the *Caliph*, open'd her Gates to the Conqueror, and all the Towns and Cities of the *Upper-Andalusia*



*lusia* follow'd her Example; so that, from this Time, the Authority of the *Caliphs* in *Spain* vanish'd, and that of the Family of the *Ommiades* began to shine in the Person of *Abderhaman*, who took upon him the Quality of an independent Sovereign, with the Title of King.

Some Cities of *Portugal* refusing to acknowledge him, he march'd thither at the Head of a numerous Army to compel them to submit to his Obedience by Force of Arms. Immediately upon his Approach, *Beja*, and its whole District, yielded upon Composition. In the mean While, *Tusouf* took his Advantage of the new King's Absence, and getting his Wife and all his Effects out of *Cordoua*, he convey'd them to *Granada*, where he fortify'd himself. *Abderhaman* besieg'd him in that Place, and press'd him so close, that, having no Manner of Prospect of getting out of that Extremity, he sought the Victor's Clemency, to whom he propos'd by *Ismael*, That he would submit and acknowledge him for his Sovereign, upon Condition, That he would leave him in the quiet Possession of all his Estate, and for the Security of his Faith and Sincerity he offer'd to deliver up his Children in Hostage. *Abderhaman*, overjoy'd to find that he should be able to establish his Sovereignty without Effusion of *Mussulman* Blood, readily accepted *Tusouf's* Proposals, and, having settled and concluded the Treaty of their Accommodation, he caress'd *Tusouf* with great Kindness, and carry'd him with him to *Cordoua*, fully determin'd to employ him in the Affairs of the State, both Civil and Military, he perfectly knowing him to be both an able Statesman and a good Soldier. But he was not long with-

757.

out repenting of his too great Condescension, and learn'd to his Cost, how dangerous a Thing it is not to use Precaution with an Enemy whose Reconciliation proceeds only from the desperate Condition of his Affairs.



## REVOLUTION XI.

758.



*TUSOUF*, accustom'd to command, could not, without the greatest Reluctancy, submit to obey a new Sovereign to whom, from the inmost Recesses of his Soul, he bore a mortal and implacable Hatred, and, by secret Paths, was incessantly seeking some favourable Opportunity to shake off his detested Yoke. Imagining he had found what he so impatiently languish'd for, he form'd a Conspiracy to assassinate *Abderhaman*, but took his Measures so very imprudently, that that Prince had Intelligence of his Design before he was in a Condition to put it in Execution, Missing his Blow, he made his Escape, and fled for Sanctuary to *Merida*, where, through the Means of some Friends he had there, he got on Foot an Army to the Number of Twenty Thousand Men, and made extraordinary Devastations in all those Parts of the Country which had declar'd for *Abderhaman*. The new King, highly enrag'd against the perfidious *Tusouf*, put himself at the Head of all his Forces, and, with great Expedition, march'd in to *Lusitania* in order to chastise him. There  
happen'd

happen'd several Rencounters between them with little or no Advantage on either Side, which oblig'd *Abderhaman* to reinforce his Army, the Number whereof became at last so very formidable, that *Tusouf*, finding himself unable to stand it, took the Way to *Toledo*, where he was receiv'd by the Inhabitants of that City. *Abderhaman* pursu'd him close at the Heels, and encamping before that Place, he summon'd it to surrender, giving the *Toledans* to understand, that in Case of Non-Compliance, he would reduce their Town to Ashes. The Inhabitants terrify'd with those Menaces, and coming seriously to reflect, that the Sanctuary they had imprudently given to *Tusouf* would infallibly prove their utter Destruction except they did something to appease the King's Indignation, they assassinated the unhappy Refugee, open'd their Gates to *Abderhaman*, and receiv'd him in Triumph amidst the Acclamations of all the People; so that, finding himself thus happily deliver'd from his most inveterate Enemy, and now peaceable Possessor of all the *Saracen* Conquests in *Spain*, he assum'd the Title of *Emir el Moumineen*, which is as much as to say, *Commander of the Faithful*. He chose the City of *Cordona* for his Capital.

The People, who were quite out of Patience at being continually the Objects and the Prey of the Violences, Injustice, Cruelty, and insatiable Avarice of their Governors, and mortify'd at their having been always depriv'd of their Sovereign's Presence, highly applauded *Abderhaman's* Advancement to the Throne, who, to give him his Due, was endow'd with all the Qualifications capable of flattering the Va-



nity of the Nobility who were more dispos'd to submit to a Sovereign than to a Governor, and to dazzle the Eyes of the Populace, who are always taken with the awful and glorious Splendor of a Throne. The new King, as Son of *Mauwia*, deriv'd his Original from *Zaine*b, one of *Mahomet's* \*Daughters. His Ancestors had for a long Time been possess'd of the supreme Dignity of the *Caliphship*, and had always distinguish'd themselves by their Valour. He was brave, comely, and well-made, and in a Word, none was more worthy of the Throne than himself.

The Sons, Son-in-Law, and other Relations and Friends of *Tusouf* who fill'd the most important Posts in the *Moorish* Dominions, finding their Faction intirely oppress'd and brought under, dissembled their Sentiments and the Hatred they bore *Abderhaman*, but still resolving to make him feel the Effects of their Vengeance upon the first Occasion that should offer. Their evil Destiny presented them one that prov'd the fatal Cause of their Ruin.

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\* This must needs be a Mistake; for I could never find in any Author that any of the Impostor's Children liv'd to have Offspring except his Daughter *Fatima*, of whom descended the *Abbasides*, the Rivals and mortal Enemies to this Family. The Name of one of his Wives, indeed, was *Zaine*b, whom he took from his Free'd-Man *Saad*, and marry'd, which gave Birth to the 33d Chap. of his *Alcoran*. Vide.





## REVOLUTION XII.



Principal *Saracen*, nam'd *Silonoan*, Governor of *Girona*, and a near Kinsman of *Tusons's*, after having refus'd his Obedience to *Abderhaman*, acknowledg'd for his Sovereign *Pe-*

760.

*pin* King of *France*, and put himself under his Protection, flattering himself, that this powerful Monarch would assist him to be reveng'd upon his Enemy. This Revolt very much troubled and perplex'd *Abderhaman*, but did not, in the least, hinder him from prosecuting his Wars with the *Christians*, nor from seriously applying himself to the Affairs of his Realm, and to the Embellishment of his Capital, where he caus'd to be built several very sumptuous Edifices, adorn'd with beautiful Gardens and magnificent Fountains.



## REVOLUTION XIII.



However, the bad Success he met with in the War he was engag'd in against *Froila* the First, King of *Oviedo*, gave Occasion to the Governors of *Granada*, *Murcia*, *Valencia*, *Saragossa*, *Beja*, and several other Places to revolt

revolt and shake off their Obedience. It is to be wish'd that we had an exact Knowledge of the Events that happen'd upon so many memorable Rebellions. But the *Spanish* Historians have been so negligent in transmitting to Posterity those Particulars, that they are even mention'd by none but *Roderic de Toledo*, and he speaks of them so very succinctly, that we are not able to form any one Sequel of History out of his Writings; which is the Reason that several of the modern Historians have so confounded the Objects, that they have taken the Names *Giral*, *Adra*, *Haladra*, and *Beja* for the proper Names of Men, notwithstanding it is plainly demonstrable, that *Beja* is one of the ancientest Cities of *Portugal*, and that *Adra* and *Haladra* are Two other Places situated in those Mountains in the Kingdom of *Granada* which are call'd *Las Alpujarras*.

761. Any other Man but *Abderhaman* would have sunk down under the Weight of so many Perplexities. Vanquish'd not long before by the *Christians* in the North, and now invested by his Enemies in the East, South, and West of *Spain*, he could not advance towards either of those Quarters without exposing all the rest to the Fury of those who were ready to attack them. In this Extremity, he demanded Assistance from the Princes of *Africa*, and got on Foot an Army, which *Marmol* makes amount to Two Hundred Thousand Foot and Forty Thousand Horse. One Part he sent against the King of *Oviedo*, who was defeated; put himself at the Head of the rest and march'd to chastise the Rebels of *Portugal*, whom he soon brought to Reason; after which he return'd into *Andalusia*, and reduc'd to his Obedience the City of *Granada*



*nada* and all the *Alpujarras*: From thence he penetrated into that Country which now goes by the Name of The Kingdom of *Murcia*, which he soon subdu'd. *Valencia* made a most vigorous Resistance, but that great City at last was oblig'd to surrender. He laid Siege to *Toledo*, 762. which Siege he was forc'd to raise by Reason of the Inconveniencies of the Winter Season; but at the Return of the Spring, having attack'd that Capital with a greater Number of Forces, *Galafre*, the Governor, disappointed of the Succours he expected from *Pepin* King of *France*, (and not of *Charlemagne*, as *Marmol* affirms) capitulated, and *Zulima*, or *Suliman*, Son to *Abderhaman*, was charg'd with the Government of that Place. The Alcaydes of *Calahorra* and *Cordovilla*, who till then had refus'd to acknowledge the King of *Cordona*, follow'd the Example of the Governor of *Toledo*. The Inhabitants of *Saragossa* set open their Gates to the Conqueror, who pursu'd his Conquests as far as the Mountains of *Aragon*, where, after having routed some *Christians* who had retir'd upon the Mountain *Pane*, he establish'd for Governor of *Saragossa* one whose Name was *Abdelmelic Ben Keatan*. All *Aragon* being subdu'd, *Abderhaman* carry'd his victorious Arms into *Catalonia*, where *Silonoan*, as has been hinted, had revolted. His Approach inspir'd that Rebel with so great a Terror, that (whether it was that King *Pepin* could not send him any Succours by Reason of the Domestick Wars in which he was engag'd, or whether that Monarch made but small Account of him) he soon surrender'd.

*Abderhaman*, having now no more Enemies of his own Nation to encounter, made Peace with

with *Don Froila* King of *Oviedo*, and return'd with Honour, and in great Triumph, to *Cordoua*, where he took some Repose after the great Fatigues he had been oblig'd to undergo.



## REVOLUTION XIV.

764.



THE Year following, he would very willingly have carry'd a War into the *Gothic-Gaul*; but apprehending, on One Side, that the *Moors* might take the Advantage of his Absence to revolt from their Obedience, and, on the Other Hand, fearing that the too superior Power of King *Pepin* would render his Expedition abortive, he determin'd rather to demand Peace of that Monarch: Insomuch, that having adjust'd all Differences both with the *French* and the *Christians* of *Spain*, he wholly apply'd himself to keep the *Moors* in their Duty, some thro' Fear, and others by good Treatment and Caresses. Those who receiv'd the greatest Share of his Favours were the Sons of *Tusous*. But the Hatred they bore that Prince was too deeply rooted in their Hearts for them not to fail in the Fidelity and Gratitude they ow'd him.

777. *Ben'El Arbi*, Governor of *Saragossa*, *B'el-Attar*, Governor of *Huesca*, and of all that Part of *Aragon* which lies situated at the Foot of the *Pyrenean Mountains*, laid a Design of rising up in Arms against him; but as they were not powerful enough of themselves to maintain their Rebellion, they went to *Charlemagne* at *Paderborn*,

born, intreated his Protection and Assistance to make War with *Abderhaman*, and did him Homage. That Monarch charm'd at finding so favourable an Opportunity of extending his Conquests in *Spain*, enter'd into an Alliance with them, and dismiss'd them. The next Year, he went to their Assistance, causing Two very numerous Armies to pass into *Spain*; the One compos'd of *Lombards*, *Provençals*, and *Gothio-Gauls*, or *Narbonnois*; the Other of the Inhabitants of *Aquitain* and *Gascony*. The First had Orders to enter into *Catalonia* under the Conduct of his Generals, whilst he himself took the Way into *Navarre* at the Head of the Second. He laid Siege to *Pamplona*, and notwithstanding the resolute and vigorous Resistance made by the *Moors*, got Possession of that Capital. *B'el-Attar*, Governor of *Huesca*, came to wait upon him, and submitted to his Obedience all the Places that were under his Government, after which he accompany'd him to *Saragossa*, where *Ben El Arbi* receiv'd him in Quality of Sovereign. The Army which that Monarch had sent into *Catalonia* took *Girona* and *Barcelona* without the least Opposition, which is an evident Sign that the Inhabitants were revolted against *Abderhaman*. After these Expeditions the Emperor *Charlemagne* return'd into *France*, and took with him a Son and a Brother of *B'el-Attar*, as Hostages for his Fidelity; and upon a Suspicion he had, that *Ben El Arbi* held a secret Correspondence with *Abderhaman*, he made sure of his Person, that he might not be at Liberty to attempt any Thing to his Prejudice.

While the Emperor *Charlemagne* was in *Spain*, *Abderhaman* did not offer to make so much

as



as one Step that shew'd as if he had any Manner of Inclination to come to Blows with him: But he was no sooner inform'd of his Departure, but he march'd with his Army into *Aragon*, and re-conquer'd all that had submitted to the *French*, from the Frontiers of

785. *Navarre* as far as *Girona*. But Four Years after, the Inhabitants of that City, perceiving the *Mahometan* Garrison not to be very numerous, again gave themselves up to the Obedience of *France*. Whether it was that *Abderhaman* was not in a Condition to chastise those Rebels, or that he was taken up with Affairs of greater Importance, it is certain that he let them alone unmolested, and that he wholly employ'd himself in building a most sumptuous Mosque at *Cordoua*, which
786. is at present the Cathedral Church of that City.

788. Two Years after, *Abderhaman* died at *Cor-doua*, and was interr'd in that magnificent Palace of the *Moorish* Kings, which in their Language they call *Alcazar*. The Historians do not agree about the Year of this Prince's Death. *Roderic de Toledo* says, That it happen'd in the Year of the *Hegira* 171, which answers to the Year of JESUS CHRIST 787. *El Macin*, and all the most learned Authors who have written after him, place it under the Year 172 of the *Hegira*; and as this Historian has the Reputation of being more exact in his Chronology than *Roderic de Toledo*, and as many grave Writers have follow'd his Opinion, we have thought ourselves oblig'd to adopt it.



## REVOLUTION XV.



*A* *Ederhaman* left Eleven Sons and Nine Daughters. By his last Will, he appointed his Son *Suliman* for his Successor to the Crown; but *Hassem*, another of his Sons, by the private Intelligences he entertain'd amongst the People, circumvented him, and put it upon his own Head. *Abdallah*, another of the Sons, Governor of *Valencia*, perceiving those his Two Brothers were disputing for the Throne of their Common Father, thought he had also a Right to some Part of the Succession; and while *Suliman* and *Hassem* were preparing to make War upon each other, he caus'd himself to be acknowledg'd for Sovereign of all the Places that were under his Government.

*Suliman* departed from *Toledo*, whereof he was Governor, and march'd towards *Andalusia* at the Head of a powerful Army, in order to drive *Hassem* from thence, and having pass'd the *Sierra Morena*, he met him in the Kingdom of *Jaen*, near a Place call'd *Belchez*. Scarce were the Two Armies come up with each other but they began to engage. The Encounter was very bloody, and prov'd fatal to *Suliman*. His Troops were so ill treated, that above Two Thirds of his Army remain'd upon the Field of Battle, the rest betook themselves to Flight, and retir'd with Precipitation to *Toledo*, where the unfortunate *Suliman* flat-  
ter'd

ter'd himself he should be able to recruit in order to retake the Field: But *Hassem* gave him not an Opportunity to do as he intended; for rightly supposing, that the Fruits of a Victory intirely depended upon the Use the Victor makes of it, he expeditiously pass'd the *Sierra Morena*, and follow'd his Brother close at the Heels as far as *Toledo*, where he besieg'd him. *Suliman*, fearing to fall into his Enemy's Hands, made his Escape, and went into *Murcia*, where he made an Alliance with his Brother *Abdallah*, imagining, that by those Means he should be able to make Head against *Hassem*, but found himself very much deceiv'd. Being worsted in divers Rencounters, he was forc'd to relinquish whatever Pretensions he might have to his Father's Crown, upon Consideration of Sixty Thousand *Pistoles* paid him by *Hassem*, after which he pass'd over into *Africa*. Not long after this, *Hassem* went and attack'd *Abdallah*, whom he found so little in a Condition to resist him, that for a Sum of Money he oblig'd him to renounce his new Sovereignty, and to follow *Suliman* into *Mauritania*.

794. *Hassem* finding himself absolute Sovereign of all the States his Father had possess'd, made an advantageous War with *Charlemagne* King of *France*, in the *Gothic-Gaul*, came off with great Loss in that he had with *Don Alphonso* the *Chast*, and died at the Beginning of this
795. Year, aged Forty One Years, after having reign'd Seven Years, Seven Months, and Seven Days, according to the Attestation of *Roderic de Toledo*, or Seven Years and One Month, according to that of *El Macin*. Notwithstanding he was a *Mahometan*, he was endow'd



dow'd with very valuable Qualifications. He finish'd the stately Mosque at *Cordona* which had been begun by his Father, and caus'd several others to be repair'd. He likewise built a very magnificent Bridge over the River *Gualquivir*. By his last Testament he left his Son *El Hassan* for his Successor.



## REVOLUTION XVI.



*El Hassan*, immediately after his Accession to the Throne, instituted a Body of Guards consisting of Five Thousand Men, Two Thousand whereof he appointed should be compos'd of natural *Mahometans*, and the other Three Thousand of *Renegadoes*, or Apostate *Christians*. This Precaution he took is an evident Demonstration how much his Person was expos'd, and of the Number of Enemies he had to encounter. His Uncles *Suliman* and *Abdallah*, as they were the most implacable, so they were the most dangerous of his Adversaries. Notwithstanding the formal Renunciation they had made to all the Right and Pretensions they could claim to the Crown, they put themselves in a Posture of reviving their Claims as soon as ever they had Notice of *Hassem's* Death. *Abdallah* left *Africa* and pass'd over to *Valencia*, where the People readily declar'd for him. From thence he wrote to *Suliman* to hasten over to *Spain*, assuring him, that by uniting their Forces

they might very easily dethrone *El Hassan*, who was a young Prince, and wholly unexperienc'd. *Suliman*, flatter'd with these Hopes, embark'd at *Tangier*, and went to join his Brother. *El Hassan* astonish'd at the Arrival of his Uncles and the Revolt of the Inhabitants of *Valencia*, put himself at the Head of his Army, and march'd to attack them.

796.

While this Prince was employ'd in endeavouring to divert the Storm which threaten'd him on that Side, the Emperor *Charlemagne* caus'd an Army to pass into *Catalonia*. Whether the Arrival of those Troops inspir'd *Zade*, or *Sáad*, Governor of *Barcelona* with a panick Fear, or whether he held a private Correspondence with the King of *France*, is unknown, but it is certain that he quitted the Interest of *El Hassan*, and did Homage to *Charlemagne*. At the same Time *Babalui*, Governor of *Huesca*, likewise acknowledg'd that Monarch for his Sovereign. Soon after this *Abdallah* went to *Aix-la-Chapelle* to demand his Assistance both in his own, and in the Name of his Brother *Suliman*.

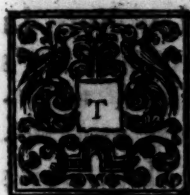
798.

So many Enemies at once seem'd to presage *El Hassan's* utter Ruin, and the more because he had never been able to get the least Advantage over his Uncles in several Rencounters he had with them during the whole Course of a War of almost Two Years Continuance. At last Fortune declar'd herself in his Favour. *Suliman* was kill'd in a Battle, and *Abdallah*, finding himself left alone, implor'd the Conqueror's Clemency, and laid down his Arms upon Condition of having One Thousand *Pistoles* per Month paid him by *El Hassan*, with Permission to reside in *Valencia*, to which his Nephew

Nephew agreed. *Sáad*, Governor of *Barcelona*, who had submitted himself to the Obedience of *Charlemagne*, made his Peace with *El Hassan*; and *Hassain*, Proprietor of *Huesca*, who had follow'd the Party of *Abdallab* and *Suliman*, put himself under the Protection of *France*, as did likewise the Inhabitants of the Islands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*.



## REVOLUTION XVII.



THE tedious Wars the King of *Cor-806*, *Édoua* was forc'd to sustain against *seq.* *Charlemagne* and *Don Alphonso* the *Chast*, oblig'd him to load his Subjects with so many Taxes and Imposts, that the Inhabitants of *Toledo*, no longer able to endure so intolerable a Burden, revolted. This Insurrection might have prov'd of very dangerous Consequences to *El Hassan*, and nothing so nearly concern'd his Interest as to do all he could speedily to appease it. The greatest Difficulty was how to effect it without being oblig'd to have Recourse to Arms. After having maturely deliberated thereupon, he invented an Artifice which was attended with all the Success he could wish for. He sent for one *Ambroz* (rather *Amrou*) Governor of *Saragossa*, and sent him to *Toledo* with Letters for the Magistrates, wherein he express'd himself to be under a very great Concern that his Ministers had given them any Occasion of Complaint against his Government,



and gave them to understand, that he had sent *Amrou* to give them all the Satisfaction they could desire. The Magistrates of that City, deceiv'd by those plausible Appearances, gave *Amrou* a very favourable Reception, entertaining him with great Demonstrations of Joy and a hearty Welcome, and the rather, because he was not only a Native of *Toledo*, but was likewise held in high Esteem by all his Countrymen.

This artful Minister, who had Orders to betray his Country, made as if he join'd with them in their Rebellion; and the better to play his Part, he persuaded the Magistrates, That, besides the Castle, which serv'd for a Citadel, it was necessary to build a Fort in the Middle of the City, to imprison the King's Ministers therein, in Case they offer'd to attempt any Thing against the Liberty and Privileges of the Inhabitants. The Magistrates having given into this Snare, the Fort was built in a very few Days, and in the Midst thereof was dug a large and very deep Well. When all was ready, *Amrou* sent private Notice to *El Hassan*, how easily the *Toledans* had swallow'd the Bait. The King, upon this Intelligence, under Pretext that the *Christians* committed great Disorders in his Dominions, sent a numerous Body of Troops, under the Command of his Son *Abderhaman*, to drive the Enemy from the Neighbourhood of *Toledo*. When the Army was arriv'd at a certain Distance from the City, the perfidious *Amrou* persuaded the Inhabitants to invite the Prince to do them the Honour of visiting their Town. His Advice being approv'd of, and *Abderhaman* was introduc'd into *Toledo*. He treated the Inhabitants

bitants with extraordinary Courtesy, and in the Evening invited the principal Authors of the Sedition to a magnificent Supper in the new Fort. As they came into the Fort One after Another, their Throats were cut, and their Bodies thrown into that Well. In the mean while the Army was insensibly marching towards the City, and when it was come near enough to be ready to seize the Gates, the Rumour of the Massacre which had been committed in the Fort was spread through every Quarter of the Town. The Inhabitants dispirited and confounded, and, in their Consternation, finding no other Remedy for their Calamities than to cast themselves upon *Abderhaman's* Mercy, went and threw themselves at his Feet, implor'd his Pardon for their Offences, and accepted all the Conditions he was pleas'd to impose upon them.



## REVOLUTION XVIII.



FOR Eleven whole Years, all *El Hassan's* Subjects continued in a perfect Subjection, without shewing the least Inclination to Rebellion; but in the Month of *July*, this Year, the Inhabitants of *Cordoua*, revolted. As that City was the Capital of the whole Realm, it was to be fear'd that all the other Cities would be apt to follow so bad an Example except some speedy Remedy was apply'd to that dangerous Evil. To that Purpose,

818.

a great Number of Troops must of Necessity be got ready, and those of the King were divided into several Bodies, the most considerable of all which was under the Command of one *Abdelcarim*. King *El Hassan* sent for that General to hasten to him, and when they were join'd, the Army, in a tumultuous Manner broke into the City by the Gate called *Puerta Nueva*, or *The New Gate*. After having made a terrible Slaughter of the Inhabitants, above Three Hundred were hang'd by the Side of the River *Guadalquivir*, near the *Bridge-Gate*. There were none but the Women and Children to whom the King shew'd any Mercy. From that Time to the Death of this Prince all was perfectly quiet. His Death happen'd in the Month of *March*, this Year, according to the Sentiment of Dr. *Ferreras*. He left behind him Nineteen Sons and Twenty One Daughters.



## REVOLUTION XIX.



*Abderbaman*, his Eldest Son, succeeded him. The great Number of his Brothers giving him some Apprehension of a *Revolution* in the State, he summon'd them all to Court, in order to oblige them to acknowledge him for King, as he likewise did all his other Relations, some of whom pretended to have a Right to the Crown. *Abdallah*, his Great-Uncle, who, as we have already observ'd, had retir'd to *Valen-*



*Valencia*, resolv'd to set himself up in an independent Sovereignty. *Mahomet* Governor of *Merida*, did the same in his own Government. Both the One and the Others made Preparations to carry on the War. But the King's Forces appear'd so far superior to those of his Uncle *Abdallah*, that that Rebel never dar'd shew his Face before his Enemy, and would infallibly have been taken had he not died in the Beginning of this Year. *Abderhaman* 823. finding himself deliver'd from that Enemy, sent for his Widow and Children to Court, to whom, with a Generosity that can never be too much commended, he caus'd to be given all that was requisite to maintain them according to their Rank.

*Candax*, or as some Authors call him *Carcas*, one of *Abdallah's* chief Commanders, whether it was that he dreaded *Abderhaman's* Indignation, or that he would not submit himself to his Obedience, embark'd, with his Wife, Children, and all his Partisans, in the Fleet that his deceas'd Master had caus'd to be fitted out, and sailing up the *Mediterranean* till he came to the Island of *Crete*, (now *Candia*) where, meeting with no Opposition, he establish'd a Colony.

The Disturbances of *Valencia* being appeas'd, *Abderhaman* turn'd his whole Force against *Mahomet* Governor of *Merida*, who not being powerful enough to maintain himself in his Usurpation, abandon'd his Country, and enter'd himself into the Service of *Don Alphonso* the Chast, King of *Oviedo*, who, unhappily for him, plac'd so much Confidence in that Traytor as to give him an Employ, as has been observ'd in the Third Book.



## REVOLUTION XX.

826, &  
seq.



HIS Year, the Inhabitants of *Saragossa*, oppress'd by the excessive Tributes with which *Abderhaman* over-burden'd them, revolted, and put themselves under the Protection of *Lewis the Meek*, King of *France*. This Monarch, overjoy'd to find so favourable an Opportunity of carrying his Arms into the very Heart of *Spain*, wrote a very obliging Letter to those Citizens, in which he exhorted them to stand their Ground, promising, that in the Spring he would not fail to send them Assistance, and engaging himself to maintain them in all their Privileges, Liberties, and Immunities, without imposing upon them any Manner of Tribute. It is not known what Effect this Letter produc'd; all that can be conjectur'd is, That, *Abderhaman*, hearing of this Insurrection, sent a Body of Troops to *Saragossa*, and that upon their Arrival all was appeas'd. After this Time, the Dominions of the King of *Cordoua* were not disturb'd by any intestine Broils till after *Abderhaman's* Death, which happen'd this Year.

852, &  
seq.

This Prince was an irreconcilable Enemy to the *Christians*; insomuch that from the Time of the *Moorish* Invasion till they were expell'd *Spain* there were never seen so many Martyrs as there were under his Reign. The very Day before he died, he would have the barbarous

barous Satisfaction of contemplating the dismember'd Limbs of a great Number of *Christians* which he had caus'd to be fix'd upon Stakes before the Windows of his Palace that look'd towards the River. But the *ALMIGHTY*, incens'd at so inhumane a Spectacle, was pleas'd to strike him with an Apoplexy, which for some Time depriv'd him of the Use of all his Senses, and of which he died the Night following. He left Forty Five Sons and Forty Daughters.

*Mahomet* inherited his Crown, as he likewise did the mortal Hatred he always express'd to the *Christians*. The first Use he made of the Royal Authority was to make them suffer all Sorts of Barbarities. He neither could find Prisons enough to make them suffer in, nor Executioners enough to destroy them; and had not almost all his Subjects kept him employ'd by continual Insurrections, he would have intirely rooted out *Christianity* from his Dominions. This would be a proper Place to make Mention of the Rebellions of *Moussa* Governor of *Saragossa*, of *Lope* his Son, of *Ben-Lop*, of *Ismael-Moussa*, of *Fortun-Moussa*, and of so many others who took up Arms against him: But the great Part the Kings of *Oviedo*, *Don Alphonso* the Chast, *Don Ramiro* the First, *Don Ordoño* the First, and *Don Alphonso* the Great, had in all those intestine Wars having indispensably oblig'd us to treat at large thereof in the Third Book, from *Pag.* 318 to *Pag.* 368, we have not thought it necessary to make any further Mention of them in this. This impious *Barbarian* died on the Fourth of September, this Year, aged Sixty Years. He left 886. Forty Sons and Twenty Daughters. *Almundar*, (or *El Mundir*) his Eldest Son, succeeded him.





## REVOLUTION XXI.

887.



HIS Prince, in the Second Year of his Reign, perceiving that the Inhabitants of *Cordoua* were dispos'd to revolt from their Obedience, discharg'd them from a Tribute, call'd

*Dicimes*, which Dr. *Ferreras* believes to be the Tenth Part of all that is sold. But this Bounty did not prevent them from rising up in

888.

Arms about the latter Part of the next Year, when they forc'd him to flee out of the City to escape their Fury. Resolving not to leave that Insult unpunish'd, he call'd all his Troops together, and laid Siege to *Cordoua*; but falling sick, he died on the Third Day of *June*. He left Six Sons and Seven Daughters: But whether it was that his Sons were too young, or that his Memory was held in Detestation, the Army proclaim'd *Abdallah*, one of his Brothers, the Inhabitants of *Cordoua* confirm'd the Choice, and having open'd their Gates, he enter'd that City in Triumph amidst the Acclamations of all the People.



REVOLUTION



## REVOLUTION XXII.



Carce had *Abdallah* taken Possession 889.

of the Throne, but one of the principal Noblemen of his Realm, named *Omar Ben Azor*, rebell'd against him, and caus'd the Cities of *Estopa*, *Lisbon*, and several others in *Portugal*, to revolt from their Obedience. In *Andalusia*, the City of *Seville* did the same, and the Flames of the Rebellion were just ready to spread themselves throughout the whole Province, when *Abdallah* appear'd at the Head of a powerful Army to chastise the Revolters. *Omar*, unable to withstand so formidable a Power, cast himself upon his Sovereign's Mercy, whom he found dispos'd to pardon him his Offence. At the same Time that this Rebel was making his Peace with the King, a Sedition arose in *Seville* which caus'd the spilling of abundance of Blood. One Part of the Inhabitants having declar'd for the King, and the Others persisting in maintaining the Party of *Omar*, both those Factions came to Blows, and never left fighting till *Abdallah's* Party had destroy'd the Partisans of *Omar*, the Ingratitude of which Traytor was so great, that notwithstanding the Bounty and Clemency the King had shew'd in so freely forgiving him his first Treason, he revolted a second Time, seiz'd upon the City of *Jaen*, cut the Throat of the Governor, and caus'd several Places to rebel, *Abdallah*, just-ly

ly incens'd against that Traytor, put himself in his Pursuit, and press'd him so close at the Heels, that he oblig'd him to flee for Refuge to the Top of the Mountains, where not thinking himself in Security, he pass'd into the *Christian* Territories, and demanded Baptism. These Troubles being quieted, *Abdallah* died on the Seventeenth of *August*, this Year, at the Age of Sixty Two Years. He left Eleven Sons and Thirteen Daughters.



## REVOLUTION XXIII.



*Abderhaman* the Third, his Son, succeeded him, being Twenty Three Years of Age. He caus'd himself to be call'd, *El Manasser Le Din Allah*, which is as much as to say *The Defender of God's Faith* (or rather, *Law*.) Though he was but a Younger Son he was preferr'd to the Elder by the Protection of *Don Garcia* King of *Leon*. His Life was a Concatenation, or, more properly Speaking, an alternate and continual Vicissitude of Prosperity and Misfortunes. What most of all concern'd him was the Perfidy of *Ben Tabia* Proprietor of *Saragossa*, who perceiving himself attack'd by *Don Ramiro* King of *Leon*, to preserve his own Interest abandon'd that of *Abderhaman*, and became Tributary to that *Christian* Prince. At this the *Arabs* were so highly irritated against him, that they all rose up in Arms, and oblig'd him to unite his Forces



Forces to those of *Don Ramiro*, to reduce them to Reason.

*Abderhaman*, enrag'd at this Procedure of *Ben Tabia*, sent him Word, That if he made the least Delay to return to his Obedience, he would immediately come and destroy his whole Country, and that he was resolv'd never to lay down his Arms till he had utterly ruin'd him. *Ben Tabia*, terrify'd with those Menaces of the King of *Cordoua*, dispatch'd away Deputies to implore his Pardon, protesting, that nothing but Fear had induc'd him to put himself under the Protection of the *Christians*. Whether *Abderhaman* was satisfy'd with his Excuses, or the Necessity of the present Juncture of his Affairs oblig'd him to wink at that Rebel's Treachery, he pardon'd him, and united his own Forces with his to continue the War against *Don Ramiro*.

This Year died *Abderhaman*, aged Seventy 961, & Four Years. He was a great Lover of Justice, *seq.* and was extremely zealous for his Religion. His insatiable Ambition caus'd him to attempt Things that quite drove his Subjects out of Patience; insomuch, that to keep them in their Duty, he was oblig'd to build a strong Citadel near *Cordoua*, for fear the Inhabitants of that Capital should rise against him. His Reputation in *Africa* was so very great, that, in order to put an End to the Civil Wars which had broke out there about the Choice of a King, both the Factions agreed, That they would accept a Sovereign from his Hands. He left for his Successor, his Son *El Hassan* the Second, who was Forty Eight Years of Age when he ascended the Throne. This Prince did nothing during the whole Course of his Reign

976. Reign that was any ways answerable to the great Idea the People had conceiv'd of him in his Father's Life-Time. He dying this Year, his Son *Hassem* the Second, a Child of Ten Years old, succeeded him.

Some Historians pretend, That there happen'd some Disputes about the Succession, and that the Competitors for the Crown having left their Pretensions to the Arbitration of the *Emir el Moumineen* of *Africa*, that Prince decided the Controversy in Favour of *Hassem*, to whom he gave, in Quality of Protector of his Realms during his Minority, *Mahomet Ben Amir*, whose great Victories and Exploits, in the Sequel, got him the Surname of *Almansor*, [or *El Mansore*, which signifies, The Protected.] However, Dr. *Ferreras*, in the Fourth Book of his HISTORY of *Spain*, has prov'd, That *Hassem* had no Brothers to dispute the Crown with him, and looks upon that pretended Contestation as no better than a mere Fable: As to the Tutorship of *Almansor*, he believes, that *El Hassan* had so appointed in his last Testament, by Reason of the great Valour and Prudence of that Person, or, at least, that the Grandees of the Realm had intrusted him with that Charge to supply the Defect of the King's Want of Years. This great Man was the more worthy of that Employ, by Reason that, when the *Moors* would have depos'd their young King to put him in his Place, with a Greatness of Soul that merits to be transmitted to all Posterity, he refus'd the proffer'd Crown. His whole Life was a continual Chain of Prosperities and Victory, as has been observ'd in the Third Book; and while he liv'd the *Moors* were

were perfectly at Quiet amongst themselves. The King's Person was always respected, and the Reputation of his Arms spread itself thro' every Part by the great Number of his Conquests; but after the Death of *Almansor*, his Affairs began to fall into a wretched Confusion. *Abdelmalec*, having been made *Vizier*, or Prime Minister, in the Place of his Father *Almansor*, caus'd the King to become despicable in the Eyes of all his Subjects, by continually keeping him shut up within his Palace, where he plung'd himself into all Sorts of Excesses and Debauches: But the *Vizier* dying soon after, his Brother *Abderhaman* was made Governor of the Realm in his Stead. This was the greatest Misfortune that could ever possibly have happen'd to the State. Being buried in Debauchery, the Army fell into so monstrous a Negligence and Supinity, and degenerated into so great an Effeminacy, that the People, from thence taking their Opportunity, revolted, and rising up in Arms several Times, divided themselves into Two opposite Factions. The *Africans* were for setting up a King of their own chusing, and the *Moors* of *Spain*, another.







## REVOLUTION XXIV.

1005.



PON all these Disorders, *Mahomet El Mebedi*, one of the most powerful Grandees amongst the *Mahometans*, laid the Design of usurping the Throne, insomuch, that having got together a formidable Army, he made himself Master of *Cordoua*, seiz'd upon *Hassem* in his Palace, and put him in Prison under a close Confinement: And in order to convince the Inhabitants that he had been kill'd in the Assault was made upon the Castle when it was taken, he caus'd a *Christian*, who very much resembled that Prince, to be slain, and having expos'd that Corps as a Spectacle to the People, he caus'd it to be sumptuously interr'd in the Royal *Mausoleum*; imagining that by this Artifice, he might be able to secure the Crown to himself; but the Event prov'd quite contrary to his Expectations, as we shall make appear in the Sequel.

1006.

In the mean while this Tyrant so far abused the Sovereign Authority he had usurp'd, that to satisfy his brutal Lust, he, without any Distinction, violated the Honour of the Wives and Daughters both of the Nobility and Populace. In a Word, the Beginning of his Reign was no other than an abominable Connexion of Disorder, Violence, Cruelty, and Injustice, at which the Inhabitants of the Metropolis were so exasperated, that they took a firm

firm Resolution to dethrone him, and to take away his Life. A certain Person nam'd *Hassem Rais* charg'd himself with the Execution of an Enterprize so very beneficial to the Publick, and waited only for a favourable Opportunity of setting Hand to that generous Deed. It was not long before one offer'd.



## REVOLUTION XXV.



*Abomet El Mebedi* having understood, that *Don Sancho*, Count of *Castile*, had made an Irruption into the Province of *Toledo*, put himself at the Head of his Army, and march'd to meet the *Castilian* in order to oppose his Progress. Immediately upon his Departure, *Hassem Rais* assembled the Conspirators, and having put them all in Arms, he pour'd down upon those who espous'd the Tyrant's Interest, attack'd the Castle where a great Number of them had shut themselves up, and, in Spite of the vigorous Resistance they made, carry'd it by Assault, and put all he found therein to the Sword.

*Mahomet El Mebedi*, hearing of this tragical Event, stopp'd short, and, by long Marches, return'd towards *Cordona*, to endeavour to extinguish that Sedition. *Hassem Rais*, having Intelligence of his Motion, got together all the Troops of the City and its Neighbourhood, and march'd out to meet him, firmly resolv'd to come to an Engagement. The Two

Armies had no sooner confronted each other, but they fell to Action; and the first Encounter promis'd ill Success to *Mahomet El Mebedi*: But as his Troops were inur'd to War, and those of *Hassem Rais* were only made up of undisciplin'd Recruits, the Face of Affairs was chang'd in a Moment. The Army of the Conspirators was routed and cut in Pieces, *Hassem Rais*, with many others were taken Prisoners, whose Heads *Mahomet El Mebedi* immediately caus'd to be struck off, after which he enter'd *Cordoua* without the least Opposition from the Citizens: But it was not long before he found himself expos'd to a far more furious Tempest than the former.

1007. During *Almansor's* Ministry, great Numbers of *African-Moors* had been brought over into *Spain*, who having some Causes of Complaint against this Tyrant, (tho' the real Motives of their Discontent are unknown) conspir'd amongst themselves to dethrone him; but as they were too weak, without some Assistance, for an Enterprize of this Consequence, they join'd with them a strong Party of *Spanish-Moors*, who were no less discontented with his Administration than themselves; and quitting *Cordoua*, they assembled at a certain Place, before agreed upon, in order to chuse a King of the Family of the *Ommiades*. Some had their Eyes upon *Zulema*, or *Suliman*, Son to the Governor of *Ceuta*, and *Hassem's* Sister; the others voted for *Marwan*, Nephew to the said *Hassem*. This occasion'd a Division amongst them which could not be decided without Blows; and *Marwan's* Party, being weaker than the contrary Faction, were beaten, and himself taken and closely confin'd in a Dungeon.

*Suliman*



*Suliman* fancying himself not strong enough to dethrone *Mahomet El Mehedí*, sought to increase his Army by demanding Succours of *Don Sancho*, Count of *Castile*, to whom he sent an Embassador to offer him very advantageous Terms, if he would assist him in getting the Crown from his Competitor. The Count of *Castile*, greedy of Honour and Advantage, finding his Account in *Suliman's* Proposals, readily accepted them; and, without Loss of Time, got together all his Troops, demanded more Forces from the Kings of *Leon* and *Navarre*, and hasten'd to join his Ally.

*Mahomet El Mehedí* had, till now, continu'd in an inactive Supinuity for which no Account can be given. But when he understood that *Suliman* and the Count of *Castile* were advancing towards *Cordoua*, and perceiv'd the Danger he was in of being invested in his Palace, he assembled all the Troops he was able to raise, which he join'd to those of the Governor of *Medina-celi*, his Friend and Ally, and resolv'd to stand the Siege; being persuaded, that, if he could oblige his Enemies to raise their Siege, he should intirely frustrate all their Schemes: And it is even probable that Matters might have fallen out according to his Wishes. But *El Hamar* his Prime Minister, represented to him, That it would seem very dishonourable in His Majesty to continue coop'd up, with a powerful Army, within the Walls of a City, while his Enemies were abroad in the Field.

It must be confess'd, that the Minister shew'd a better Resolution than his Master; but the Event demonstrated, that *Mahomet El Mehedí* argued with more Reason and Policy than his

Minister. In Effect, *El Hamar*, and the Governor of *Medina-celi*, having sall'y'd out of *Cordona* with a considerable Body of Troops, contrary to the Sentiment of *Mahomet El Mehedi*, they met the Enemy at a small Distance from the City, and attack'd them very abruptly. The Count of *Castile* receiv'd them with a Resolution that astonish'd them; and after an obstinate Dispute, in which they had the Mortification to see Thirty Six Thousand of their best Troops perish before their Eyes, they thought themselves very happy to trust the Safety of their Lives to the Swiftness of their Horses, while their Enemies were busy in enriching themselves with the Spoils of their vanquish'd Army, the wretched Remains whereof had much ado to escape by a precipitate Flight.

When *Suliman* and the Count of *Castile* had given their Troops some little Rest, they turn'd their Arms against *Cordona*, the Suburbs whereof were almost as soon taken as invested, which so much terrify'd the Tyrant, that not thinking himself safe in the City, he retir'd into the Castle.

*Suliman* attacking the City itself, the Inhabitants, soon weary of a Siege which could not chuse but prove fatal to them, and not a little exasperated against the Tyrant who oppress'd them by his great Cruelties and Injustice, began to mutiny against him. He us'd many fruitless Endeavours to pacify them with pathetick Harangues; but the Murmurs still increas'd: Infomuch, that finding himself inevitably lost, he caus'd *Hassem*, whom all the World thought dead, to be taken out of Prison, flattering himself, that the Sight of the  
lawful

lawful King would restore a Calm to the City; but the People's Spirits were too much sour'd to be so easily appeas'd; and how moving soever so extraordinary and unexpected a Spectacle might appear, it was not sufficient to stop the Progress of the Sedition: So that *Mahomet El Mebedi* was forc'd to hide himself in the House of a Friend of his, a Native of *Toledo*, nam'd *Mahomet*, where he lay conceal'd for some Time, to avoid falling into the Hands of his Enemies, after which he secretly made his Escape, accompany'd by that his Friend, and got over to *Mauritania*. In the mean while the Citizens set open their Gates to *Suliman*, and acknowledg'd him for their Sovereign, to the Prejudice of the rightful Prince *Hassem*.



## REVOLUTION XXVI.



*L Hamar*, the depos'd Tyrant's Prime Minister, being retir'd to *Medina-celi* after his being defeated by *Suliman* and the Count of *Castile*, left no Stone unturn'd to try if he could re-instate his Master upon the Throne. To this Effect, he pass'd privately to *Catalonia*, and had a Conference with *Raymond*, Count of *Barcelona*, and *Armengol*, Count of *Urgel*, to whom he made very advantageous Offers in Behalf of *Mahomet El Mebedi*, and amongst the rest promis'd to restore to them all the Places belonging to their Dominions



that had been taken by the *Moors*. The Proposals of that *Barbarian* seeming agreeable and convenient to those Counts, they enter'd into an Alliance with him, and, without Loss of Time, set on Foot about Nine Thousand Men, which they join'd to Thirty Four Thousand more which the Governor of *Medina-celi* had rais'd in *Aragon*, and in that Country which is now call'd The *Kingdom of Valencia*.

What is most of all surprizing in this Event is, that, amongst the Nobility of *Catalonia* who accompany'd the Two Counts, *Ætius*, Bishop of *Barcelona*, *Arnult*, Bishop of *Vic*, and *Otho*, Bishop of *Girona*, forgetting the Rules and Duties of the Episcopacy, which never permit a Prelate to take up Arms but in Defence of his Religion, appear'd at the Head of the *Catalonian* Troops to assist in deciding the Quarrel between Two *Mahometan* Tyrants who were disputing for a Throne which belong'd neither to the One nor the Other.

*Mahomet El Mehedi*, having Intelligence of the good Success of his Agent, departed from *Africa* at the Head of a considerable Number of *Mauritanians*, and landed in *Andalusia*, where, soon after his Arrival, *El Hamar* and his Confederates went to join him; which News so greatly surpriz'd the voluptuous *Suliman*, that awaking on a sudden out of the lethargick Supinity in which he had been buried amidst his Pleasures and Sensualites, he got together all the Troops that were in *Cordona*, and its Neighbourhood, and march'd out to encounter his Enemies, whom he came up with about Ten Leagues from the City, at a certain Place call'd *Acabat el Bazar*. Observing, that they came marching on without any Man-  
ner

ner of Order or Discipline, he attack'd them with such Fury, that, at the very first Shock, he broke through them, and kill'd them abundance of Men, of which Number were Count *Armengol*, and the Three Bishops, which extremely disconcerted *Mahomet El Mebedi*, *El Hamar*, and the Count of *Barcelona*; yet nevertheless, as those Leaders were all of them Men of very great Resolution and Conduct, they did their utmost to rally as soon as possible, and pouring down upon *Suliman's* Army, the Scene was so suddenly chang'd, that, in an Instant, it was defeated and cut to Pieces.



## REVOLUTION XXVII.



*Abomet El Mebedi*, thus crown'd with triumphant Lawrels having presented himself before *Cordoua* under Pretext of re-establishing *Hassem* upon the Throne, tho', at the Bottom, he sought nothing but to deprive him of his Crown, was most agreeably surpriz'd when he heard himself proclaimed King by all the Inhabitants: And what is most of all surprizing, is, that the unfortunate *Hassem*, who seem'd to have been advanc'd to the Regal Dignity to no other Intent than to be expos'd as a Spectacle, or to serve as a Play-Thing to the Caprice of Fortune, join'd his own Voice to those of the People to place his Rival upon the Throne.

*Suliman*, not thinking himself safe in *Andalusia*, pass'd into *Estremadura*, and took Refuge in the Castle of *Zafra*, whose natural Situation makes it one of the strongest Places in all *Spain*. This Castle derives the Original of its Name from the *Arabick* Word *Zafar*, *Safar*, (or rather *Sefer*) which is the Name of the Third Month in the *Mahometan* Lunar Year, which answers to the Month of \* *July*; and it is so call'd, because, in that Month, a celebrated Fair for all Sorts of Cattle and Merchandize is still held there.

*Suliman*, being inform'd that his Enemy design'd to come and besiege him in that Place, quitted it, and retir'd into *Africa* with the tatter'd Remnants of his Army. The *Africans*, who had espous'd his Party, having lost all their Hopes upon his leaving the Country, endeavour'd to obtain a Pardon from *Mahomet El Mebedi*, and offer'd him their Service. This was accepted of, and they all repair'd to *Cordona*, where soon after their Arrival, they offer'd so many Insults to the Inhabitants of that City, that they began to mutiny and to execrate against *El Mebedi's* Government, which oblig'd the Count of *Barcelona* to retire Home to his own State to avoid being expos'd to the Fury of those Factions.

Notwithstanding *Suliman* was in *Mauritania*, he still retain'd a longing Desire to recover the Throne from whence he had been forcibly

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\* With Submission, I cannot conceive how it can answer to *July*, or any other Solar Month, since one has no Occasion to be an extraordinary Mathematician to know, that, if it happens this Year to fall out in *July*, in Sixteen Years and an Half it will certainly come in *January*.



bly driven, and entertain'd a private Correspondence with the *Arabs* who had remain'd in *Spain*, who sent him exact Intelligence of all that pass'd there; insomuch, that, being by them inform'd of all the Murmurs of the Inhabitants of *Cordona* upon Account of the Insults done them by those *Africans* who had enter'd into *El Mebedi's* Service, he caus'd some Troops to pass over from thence into *Andalusia*, and gave Orders to him who commanded those Forces to contrive how to get his Competitor assassinated.

IOIII.



## REVOLUTION XXVIII.



**T**HIS Commission was no less dangerous than it was difficult; yet notwithstanding, the Person to whose Charge it was committed, was nothing discourag'd either at the Danger or the Difficulty: He only wanted a favourable Opportunity to put it in Execution, and had one offer'd him when he least of all expected it. Having learn'd, that *El Hamar*, Prime Minister to *Mahomet El Mebedi*, had some Cause of Discontent against his Master, he settled a private Correspondence with him, and agreed with that Minister, and several other Persons of Consideration, That, on a certain Day, One, whose Name was *Hamber*, should enter into *Cordona* at the Head of the Conspirators, should make himself Master of the Castle, and should seize the Person of *Mahomet El Mebedi*. The appointed

appointed Day being come, *Hamber* got into the City, and invested the Castle. — *Mahomet El Mebedi*, greatly alarm'd to find himself, as we may say, in his Enemy's Hands, endeavour'd to make his Escape, but, unfortunately for him, he was discover'd and taken. The People overjoy'd to see that Tyrant's Reign at an End, instead of proclaiming *Suliman*, took *Hassem* out of his Prison and re-establish'd him upon his Throne.

*Hassem* having thus recover'd his Liberty and his Crown, thinking it a Debt he ow'd to his just Vengeance to sacrifice the Life of a Tyrant who had so long made him groan under the Horrors of a Dungeon, caus'd his Head to be struck off, and gave Orders it should be carry'd throughout the City upon the Point of a Lance, and that his Body should be cast down from the Ramparts into the Ditch; after which he sent the Head to *Suliman*, who immediately sent it to *Obeydalla*, or *Abdallah*, Governor of *Toledo*, and Son to that unfortunate Tyrant. Together with it, he remitted him a Sum of Money in order to have his Father's Head honourably bury'd, hoping by that Means to get him into his Interest in Case he should stand in Need of his Assistance.

It might have been suppos'd that *El Mebedi's* Fate would have deterr'd all those who had declar'd in Favour of Usurpers from persisting in their Treason: But, by an Effect directly contrary, it seem'd rather the more to harden those *Barbarians* who were devoted to the Interest of *Suliman*, enrag'd to find that, upon *El Mebedi's* being taken, their Patron had not been proclaim'd King, as they expected, they destroy'd with Fire and Sword all the Neigh-

Neighbourhoods of *Carmona*, *Exija*, and *Cordoua*; inſomuch, that that whole Country became One vaſt Deſart: None dar'd venture without their City Walls to ſeek Proviſions for their Families; the Villages were intirely depopulated, and more People died by Famine in *Cordoua* than the moſt malignant Peſtilence would have deſtroy'd. In vain the Inhabitants made preſſing Inſtances to *Haſhem*, to oblige him to put a Stop to thoſe Diſorders; that puſillanimous, effeminate Prince appear'd inſenſible to ſo many Evils and Calamities, and contented himſelf with giving Ear to the vain Propoſals of Accommodation the revolted *Barbarians*, from Time to Time, made purely to amuſe him, in order to give *Suliman* Leiſure to put himſelf in a Condition to ſnatch his Crown and dethrone him, which the Rebels attempted to perform the Year following, as we are going to declare.

The Rebel-Party ſeeing that *Suliman* delay'd to ſend them the Succours he had promis'd, they determin'd to go and attack *Cordoua* with the Troops they had, and had, perhaps, carry'd the Place by Aſſault, if they had not been betray'd by a falſe Brother-Rebel, who gave *Haſhem* Notice of what was carrying on againſt him. Upon this Intelligence, *Haſhem* re-inforc'd the Garrifon, ſtood upon his Guard, and, for his greater Security, he cauſ'd all *Suliman's* Relations to be apprehended, and gave their Effects to the Inhabitants of the City, the better to engage them to perform their Duty. On the Day appointed, the *Barbarians* began their March to attack the City; but *Haſhem*, as we have already obſerv'd, being acquainted with their Deſign, advanc'd to meet them



them with so powerful a Body of Troops, that not thinking themselves strong enough to stand it, they betook themselves to Flight in small Bodies, and that with such Expedition that it was impossible for *Hassem* to overtake them; and notwithstanding he put good Garrisons in all the Posts in the Neighbourhood of *Cordoua*, they still continu'd to commit the same Ravages, and to exercise the same Cruelties upon the poor miserable Peasants, without its being in *Hassem's* Power to attack them in a Second Sally he made to that Intent; so that, finding himself unable to reduce them by Force of Arms, he endeavour'd to appease them by very advantageous Offers he made them.

The Rebels overjoy'd to find him in that Disposition, they made a Shew of laying down their Arms; but as they had no other View than to gain Time to enable *Suliman* to come and join them, they made such exorbitant Proposals, that *Hassem* did not think it proper to accept them: So this pretended Accommodation vanish'd and came to nothing, and *Suliman* arriv'd with a very considerable Body of Recruits, but which yet not being strong enough to make Head against *Hassem's* Army, he had Recourse to Two Expedients, the first of which was to make an Alliance with *Obedalla*, Son of *Mahomet El Mebedi*, and Governor of *Toledo*; hoping, that, by obliging the Inhabitants of that City, by whom he was very much esteem'd, to proclaim him King of *Toledo*, and of all the Province that depend- ed upon it, he should of Necessity force the King of *Cordoua*, with the greatest Part of his Army, to march against that Revolter; and as *Obedalla* sought nothing but a favourable Occasion

Occasion of shewing how deeply he repented his Father's Death, he greedily embrac'd this. The other was, to send an Embassador to *Don Sancho*, Count of *Castile*, to make him very advantageous Proposals in Case he would lend him his Assistance to dethrone *Hassem*.



## REVOLUTION XXIX.



THE First of these Expedients answer'd his Desires. *Obeydalla* was proclaim'd King of *Toledo*, and all the Inhabitants of the Province that depended upon that Capital took up Arms against *Hassem*. But the Count of *Castile*, considering that *Hassem* rightfully possess'd the Throne of *Cordoua*, and that *Suliman* was no other than an Usurper, he sent Notice to *Hassem* of what pass'd, and propos'd to him, That if he would restore to him the Towns of *San Estevan de Gormaz*, *Osma*, and *Clunia*, which had remain'd in the Possession of the *Mahometans* ever since *Almansor* took them, he would join his whole Power to the *Cordoua* Forces to oppose the Designs of his Competitor. *Hassem* saw so many Advantages in the Count of *Castile*'s Proposals, that, without the least Hesitation, he embrac'd them, and immediately caus'd the Places he demanded to be evacuated, and deliver'd them into his Hands.

REVOLUTION



## REVOLUTION XXX.



ON SANCHE was no sooner put in Possession of those Towns, but he put himself at the Head of his Forces, and march'd to join the Troops *Hassem* had sent into the Neighbourhood of *Toledo*, under the Conduct of one of his Generals. The Two Armies being join'd, *Toledo* was besieg'd and press'd so close, that the Inhabitants fearing to fall the Victims of *Obeydalla's* ill-grounded Ambition, set open their Gates to the Besiegers, who immediately invested the Castle, whither *Obeydalla* was retir'd, and, after a weak Resistance, carry'd it by Assault, and took the Rebel Prisoner, who was no sooner in his Enemies Power, but they sent him under a strong Guard to *Hassem*, who caus'd his Head to be struck off, and order'd it to be carry'd about through every Street in *Cordoua*.

Before we proceed any farther, we are oblig'd to observe to our Readers, That the Event we have been treating of apparently detects the Falsity of what is said upon this Occasion by *Pelagius*, or *Pelayo*, Bishop of *Oviedo*, in the Continuation of *Sampiro's* History, speaking of *Bermond*, or *Veremond* the Second, King of *Leon*; as likewise of what *Mariana*, *Marmol*, and almost all the *Spanish* Historians have maintain'd upon the Faith of so bad a Voucher: To wit, "That, the King *Don Alphonso* the Fifth, Son  
" to



“ to *Don Veremond* the Second, marry’d *Doña*  
 “ *Teresa*, his Sister, to a *Mahometan* King of  
 “ *Toledo*, to avoid engaging in a War with  
 “ him; and that this Princess, being arriv’d  
 “ at *Toledo*, told the King her Husband, That  
 “ she being a *Christian* and he a *Mahometan*,  
 “ he could have no Commerce with her, ad-  
 “ ding, That, if he should be so rash as to  
 “ offer to use any Violence towards her, *GOD*  
 “ would not fail to punish him severely for  
 “ his Attempt.” The same Authors add, “ That  
 “ *Obeydalla* contemning the Divine Wrath, en-  
 “ joy’d her by Force; and that immediately  
 “ finding himself seiz’d with a mortal Distem-  
 “ per, he return’d the Princess to her Brother,  
 “ with many very rich Presents, and died.

Had those Historians attentively examin’d  
 what *Roderic de Toledo* says of *Obeydalla* in his  
 HISTORY of the *Moors*, they would scarce have  
 deliver’d such a notorious Falsity as this, since  
 they would have found, That this Rebel was  
 sent to King *Hassem*, and that he lost his Head  
 after the Manner we have related: And as a  
 greater Proof of the Falsity of this pretended  
 Marriage, they might have seen further in the  
 ANTIQUITIES of *Morales*, that it is justify’d  
 by a PRIVILEGE of the Church of *St. James*,  
 That the Princess *Doña Teresa* was a Nun in  
 the Year 1017, in the Convent of *St. Pelagius*  
 in *Oviedo*, together with *Doña Elvira*, her Mo-  
 ther, and *Doña Sacnha*, her Sister. The same  
*Morales* might have convinc’d them by the a-  
 bovesaid PRIVILEGE, That, after *Obeydalla*,  
 there was no *Mahometan* King of *Toledo*, till  
 the Year 1027, when *Adhafer-Aly-Maymoon* was  
 elected, as we shall soon declare: So that, in  
 supposing that the Princess *Doña Teresa* was  
 marry’d

marry'd in 1013, which is the certain Time of *Obeydalla's* Rebellion, it could be with none but that Usurper; and as it is prov'd by *Roderic de Toledo*, that after he was taken, he was sent to *Hasbem* and beheaded, it is evidently false that he died at *Toledo* in Punishment of the Crime he committed in forcibly enjoying the Princess.

To the Authority of *Roderic de Toledo* may be added a Reflection made by Dr. *Ferreras*, which alone is sufficient to prove, that the Writers who speak of this pretended Marriage are mistaken. This celebrated Historian says, That *Obeydalla*, who was only an inconsiderable, wretched Revolver, very far from being in a Condition to declare War against any of the *Christian* Potentates, ought much rather to have implor'd their Assistance to maintain and protect him in his Usurpation; and from thence he absolutely concludes, That this imaginary Marriage should be intirely banish'd from the *Spanish* History, as a notorious Fiction, and injurious to the Memory of *Don Alphonso* the Fifth. But it is Time to return to our Narration.

While a good Part of *Hasbem's* Troops were employ'd in *Castile*, in order to reduce to his Obedience the Province of *Toledo*, *Suliman* was committing such terrible Ravages in *Andalusia*, that the Country People not daring to hazard their Lives in supplying *Cordoua* with Provisions, the Famine was so extremely great, that a Loaf of Bread was not to be had for less than Thirty Pieces of Gold, insomuch that the Plague following this miserable Dearth, a general Conflagration spread through every Quarter of the City; and to compleat the Calamity, *El Hamar*,

*mar*, Prime Minister to *Hassem*, discontented at some Treatment of his Master's, probably for restraining his too exorbitant Authority, enter'd into a secret Correspondence with *Suliman*, to whom he sent Intelligence of all that was transacted, and offer'd to pass into his Service. *Hassem*, having Notice of his Vizier's Perfidy, caus'd him to be apprehended; and having, by the very Letters which *Suliman* wrote, convicted the Traytor of his enormous Offence, he commanded that his Head should be struck off, and that it should be carry'd through every Street in the City upon a Lance, as an Example to all Traytors, and to shew them how dangerous it is for them to fail in their Loyalty to Sovereign Princes.

As a Mark of Divine Justice, *Suliman*, who by the great Disorders he had committed in the Neighbourhood of *Cordoua*, had caus'd a miserable Famine in that Capital, found himself expos'd to the same Calamity, and was oblig'd to abandon the Posts he possess'd to conduct his Army into a Country where he might get Provisions; and as the *Lower-Andalusia* is a Province exceeding fertile in all Sorts of Grain, he directed his Course towards *Seville*, all the Precincts of which City he ravag'd and laid waste.

At the same Time, the Troops which *Hassem* had sent to *Toledo* against *Obeydalla* being upon their Return, he order'd them to march to the Relief of *Seville*, under the Conduct of the Generals *Zavor* and *Hambac*. *Suliman* hearing they were advancing towards him by long Marches, rais'd the Siege with great Precipitation, for Fear of being oblig'd to encounter, all at one Time, with Famine



and Two Captains either of them as brave as himself, and exceedingly superior in Forces. Being in an Uncertainty which Way he should bend his Course, he determin'd, at last, to pass the *Sierra-Morena*, and to encamp in that Country which is call'd *La Mancha*. Understanding that the City of *Calatrava* was well furnish'd with Provisions, he besieg'd it, took it by Assault, laid it level with the Ground, and destroy'd all the Country round about it, without sparing the Lives of the poor Peasants, of whom he made a most horrible Massacre.



## REVOLUTION XXXI.

1014.



HE more difficult this Tyrant found it to drive *Hassem* from his Throne, the more obstinately eager he was in persecuting him. But as he could by no Methods, alone, succeed in his Enterprize, he endeavour'd to bring over to his Party *Mundir*, Governor of *Saragossa*, and the Alcayde of *Guadalajara*, to whom he made such advantageous Offers, that they united their Troops with his Army. Elated with these Recruits, he went and encamp'd before *Cordoua*, and summon'd the City to surrender, giving the Inhabitants to understand, That unless they comply'd, he would assuredly put them every Soul to the Sword. The Citizens having sent him Word, That they despis'd his Threats, and waited his Approach, he caus'd

fed his Army to advance, and endeavour'd to fill up the Ditches with Earth and Stones; but the Garrison making a vigorous Sally, he was forc'd to retire, after having lost abundance of his Men. This ill Success nothing discourag'd him; so that, returning to the Charge, the Ditches were fill'd up in Spite of all the Efforts made by the Besieged in a Second Sally. By the filling of the Ditches he became Master of the Suburbs: He was, nevertheless, again beat out from thence, but he re-attack'd, took them, and laid Siege to the City itself, where he met with so resolute a Resistance from the Besieged, that he was just upon the Point of raising the Siege, when a Traytor open'd one of the Gates. It was then that the Inhabitants lost all Courage, and had no other Recourse than to implore the Victor's Clemency; but neither their Intreaties nor their Tears were any Ways capable of molifying the obdurate Heart of this implacable Tyrant. Proud of a Conquest which he ow'd to nothing but to the Perfidy of an abandon'd Traytor, he caus'd those miserable Supplicants to be inhumanly slaughter'd. Amidst the general Confusion, *Hassem* found Means to escape with his principal Officers, and to get over into *Africa*, where the Historians assure us that he died soon after, leaving to Posterity a most singular Example of the Instability of Worldly Affairs.

*Suliman* had made a great Step in usurping the Throne: But that was not sufficient; he must likewise maintain himself in his Usurpation: And as nothing is so capable of captivating the People's Hearts as Lenity and Generosity, he bestow'd his Favours very liberally.

berally. However a great Number of the Governors of *Hasbem's* advancing refus'd to submit to the Person who had depos'd him. But among all those who signaliz'd their Fidelity to their rightful Sovereign, the great Exploits and exemplary Loyalty of one *Hairan* can never be too much commended. Having been dangerously wounded at the Siege of *Cordona*, he retir'd to the House of one of his Friends, where he was secretly cur'd. Having got perfectly well of his Wounds, he went to *Oribuela*, of which Place he was Governor, and was no sooner arriv'd there, but he took Measures to re-place *Hasbem* upon his Throne, or, at least, some Prince of the Family of the *Ommiades*. To this Purpose, he made an Alliance with one nam'd *Ben Hamet*, Governor of *Almeria*, who left that Place to go and join him; but by Misfortune, he did not manage his Affairs so secretly, but one of the principal Inhabitants, whose Name was *Affa*, got Notice of his Design; and as he was in *Suliman's* Interest, he immediately sent Intelligence thereof to that Tyrant, and at the same Time, he confederated with several others of the same Faction, and made himself Master of the Castle. *Hairan*, being inform'd of what had happen'd, instantly return'd with all his Troops, invested the Place, took it after a Siege of Twenty Days, seiz'd the perfidious *Affa*, and caus'd his, and the Heads of all his Children to be cut off, and commanded their Bodies to be thrown into the Sea. After he had repair'd the Place, he turn'd his Arms against *Jaen*, and had certainly carry'd it at the first Attack, had it not been for a very numerous Army *Suliman* had sent against him: So that instead

*Original*



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instead of a Siege he was going to open, he was forc'd to come to an Engagement, from which, according to all Appearances, he could never expect to come off with Advantage, by Reason of the great Disproportion of his Forces in Opposition to those of his Adversaries. However, contrary to all Hopes or Probability, he defeated *Suliman's* Army, a good Part whereof remain'd on the Field of Battle, and the rest fled away, after which *Jaen*, *Baeza*, 1016, and *Arjona* set open their Gates.

Being now possess'd of Four good Places, he sent over to *Mauritania* to acquaint *Hassem*, that he was in a Condition to re-instate him upon his Throne; but not being able to get any Manner of Tydings of him, and withal apprehending that it might be surmiz'd, that he had taken up Arms with no other View than to secure the Crown to himself, he dispatch'd to *Africa* a Second Messenger with Protestations, That he had no other Design than to place the Crown upon the Head of some one of the rightful Successors of *Hassem*; and as a Proof of the Sincerity of his Intentions, he invited over to *Spain* one *Aly Ben Hamet*, a Person descended from the Family of the *Ommiades*, and the best qualify'd and the properest of any to inherit the Crown.





## REVOLUTION XXXII.



PON this Invitation, *Aly Ben Hamet* departed from *Centa*, which was the Place of his ordinary Residence, and landed at *Malaga*, where *Hairan* had so well dispos'd the Minds of the People in his Favour, that, immediately upon his Appearance, he was proclaim'd King, and soon after, the Cities of *Granada*, *Murcia*, and several others submitted to his Obedience, without its being known what Effect this sudden Revolution produc'd in the Mind of *Suliman*, it not appearing that, for that Time, he made one Step to endeavour to stop its Progress.

*Aly Ben Hamet*, *Hairan*, and the rest of the Alcaydes of their Party, having agreed upon a Day and Place of Meeting, the new King came to the Rendezvous with his own Followers, and a good Part of the Inhabitants of *Malaga*, *Hairan*, with the Troops of *Murcia* and its Neighbourhood, and one *Silfeya* with those of *Granada*. It was then that the indolent *Suliman* became sensible of the Danger his was in, and began to put himself in a Posture to avoid it; but he began too late: For notwithstanding he set on Foot a great Army, his Enemies had so well taken their Measures, that coming to an Engagement with them, his Army receiv'd a compleat Overthrow, himself, his Father, and One of his Brothers were

were made Prisoners and lost their Lives by the Hands of the Common Executioner, after which *Aly Ben Hamet* presented himself before *Cordoua*, where he was proclaim'd King by the Inhabitants.

When he found himself Master of the Capital of the Realm, he resolv'd to settle Peace and Tranquillity throughout his whole Dominions; and as there was still a great Number of *Arabs* of *Suliman's* Faction who were capable of raising some Disturbance, he made them very advantageous Proposals in Case they would enter themselves into his Service. *Hairan*, piqu'd at this Procedure, and withal highly offended at the new King's not having kept his Word in standing to the Promises he had made him, took this Pretext to leave *Cordoua* with his own and the Troops of *Granada*; and as soon as he was got into a Place of Security, he sent Notice to *Mundir*, Governor of *Saragossa*, of the Cause of his Discontent, and gave him to understand, That, in Case he would assist him to dethrone an ungrateful Man who was indebted to him for the Crown he wore, he would engage to make him be acknowledg'd for absolute Sovereign of the whole Extent of Country which depended upon his Government.

*Mundir* having accepted this Proposal which so agreeably flatter'd his Ambition, went to join *Hairan* at *Guadix* with a numerous Body of Troops. No sooner was this Conjunction made, but they began their March towards *Cordoua*, intending to besiege that Capital.

*Aly Ben Hamet*, astonish'd at the Presumption of those Two Rebels, put himself at the Head of his Army, and went to attack them;



imagining that they were not strong enough to resist him, but found himself mistaken; for he was intirely defeated, and forc'd to retire in the utmost Disorder and Precipitation, with the wretched Remains of his Army.

Had *Hairan* and *Mundir* but known how to take all the Advantage of their Victory it was in their Power to have made, it is certain they might easily have dethron'd *Aly Ben Hamet*; but at the very Juncture when they ought to have join'd themselves in a stricter Union than ever, there arose a Jealousy between them, insomuch that *Mundir* withdrew with his Troops, leaving *Hairan* in a very great Perplexity. However he was not dispirited at this Desertion of his Confederate; and that the World might be convinc'd that all he did was with no other View than to settle the Crown in the *Ommiade* Family, he sent for one *Abderhaman El Mortada* from *Jaen*, a Man of no Courage, little ambitious of a Throne, and intirely buried in an indolent Effeminacy, to whom he gave to understand, That if he would but put himself at the Head of the Army, he would cause him to be proclaim'd King. At this Proposal, *Abderhaman* shew'd himself not altogether insensible to the attractive Charms of a Crown, so great a Force has the Desire of Rule over humane Minds.

*Aly Ben Hamet* having Information of what *Hairan* was practising against him, assembled all his Troops and march'd out of *Cordoua* in order to encounter him, fully determin'd to attack his Army where-ever he found it; but *Hairan* robb'd him of the Glory of triumphing over him as he flatter'd himself he should,

should, by retiring, with *Abderhaman*, to the Top of a Mountain, where it was impracticable to attempt them; insomuch, that all *Aly Ben Hamet* was able to do was to present himself before *Jaen*, where his Partisans open'd the Gates, and sacrific'd to his Vengeance all those who had espous'd the Interest of *Hairan*.

When he was become Master of this Place, he sent *Silfeya* with some Troops against *Hairan*, and a few Days after went to join him with the rest of his Army. As he pass'd by *Guadix* he got Intelligence where his Enemy was, which he no sooner heard, but he hasten'd thither with the utmost Speed, attack'd, defeated, and forc'd him to retire with great Precipitation. The News of *Hairan's* Defeat having put the Inhabitants of *Almeria* into a very great Consternation, they sent out Couriers to learn what Condition he was in, and were inform'd, that he was retir'd into the Castle of *Baeza*, where he determin'd to defend himself to the last Extremity. In the mean while, *Aly Ben Hamet* understanding, that Four Captains of the contrary Party were making terrible Ravages and Depredations up and down the Country, went to attack them, cut them to Pieces, and return'd to *Jaen*, where he pass'd the remaining Part of this Year in recruiting his Army in order to compleat the Ruin of all *Hairan's* Faction.





## REVOLUTION XXXIII.

1018.



HE Beginning of this Year, he sent out a good Body of Troops under the Conduct of his Generals, and appointed them to encamp in a certain Place where he promis'd to be with them very soon; but was not so good as his Word: For being one Day in his Bagnio, some of his own Domesticks, gain'd by *Hairan's* Partisans, broke in and dispatch'd him with their Poniards. His Generals, growing very uneasy at their hearing no News of his Coming, sent some Officers to *Jaen* to learn the Occasion of this Delay, who going to the Castle where he had taken up his Residence, found him all over bath'd in his own Blood, and breathless. In the great Consternation they were in upon beholding so tragical a Spectacle, they assembled the Inhabitants of the City to consult what was properest to be done; and after a mature Deliberation, they chose *El Hassan*, Brother to *Aly Ben Hamet*, who being come from *Seville*, where he was at the Time of his Brother's Assassination, was proclaim'd King in his Stead.

While all this was transacting, *Hairan* accommodated Matters with *Mundir*, Governor of *Saragossa*, and prevail'd with him to lend him his Assistance to place *Abderhaman* upon the Throne of *Cordoua*, and found, likewise, the Means to draw over to his Party the Govern-  
 nors



nors of *Tortosa* and *Guadix*: Infomuch that having considerably augmented his Army, he look'd upon himself powerful enough to besiege *Jaen*, which Place he took without much Difficulty, and there caus'd *Abderhaman* to be proclaim'd. After this he went to attack *El Hafs*'s Army, and carry'd some small Advantage: But that Prince, having receiv'd a certain Number of Recruits, refitted, took his Revenge, and oblig'd his Enemies to retire to *Murcia*, where *Abderhaman* was again proclaim'd.

As the ancient Historians have said nothing of what pass'd between the Two Factions during the whole Year 1019, we rather smother than make Mention of all that *Marmol* and some other Moderns say upon that Subject, fearing to impose Fables upon our Readers instead of Historical Facts, having very prevalent Reasons to believe, that they have blindly follow'd the romantick Ideas of a few Apocryphal Chroniclers, who, in all they have written, never consulted any Thing but their Caprice, or their own personal Interest. But not to suffer so considerable a Space of Time to elapse without giving our Judgment upon the Events that interven'd, we conjecture, That *Hairan*, some how or other, piqu'd against that Representative of Majesty, whom he led about from City to City, exposing him to the People for a Sight, purely to make him serve as the Basis or Foundation of the Ambition with which he himself was devour'd, had so well insinuated to *Mundir*, and the rest of his Confederates, That, this Figure of Royalty, *Abderhaman*, sought only to get himself firmly seated in the Throne, in order, at length,

to

to crush them, that they did no Military Exploit that redounded much to the Advantage of the Phantom whose Interest they had espous'd.



## REVOLUTION XXXIV.

1020.



WE think ourselves the better ground-  
ed in this Conjecture, because this  
Year, *Abderhaman* having laid Siege  
to *Granada*, which held out for *El*  
*Hassan*, *Hairan*, *Mundir*, and the  
Governors of *Tortosa* and *Guadix*, sent Notice  
to the Besieged of the Design they had laid  
to ruin the worthless *Abderhaman*, assuring them,  
That at the first Sally they should make, they  
would abandon that vain, useless Image of Ma-  
jesty, and thereby facilitate the Means for them  
to destroy him in his Camp. Their Treason  
met with all the Success they could desire:  
The Besieged, according to the Agreement had  
been made, sally'd out; and they no sooner  
appear'd, but *Hairan*, *Mundir*, and the Alcaydes  
of *Tortosa* and *Guadix* retir'd with their Troops.  
*Abderhaman* thus abandon'd by him who had  
made him what he was, and by all the rest  
of his Allies, and protected only by a no ve-  
ry considerable Number of *Arabs* who remain'd  
with him, found himself left as a Prey to the  
Vengeance of an implacable Rival, who dis-  
charg'd upon him all that Military Fury is ca-  
pable of inspiring Soldiers withal: His Troops  
were soon cut to Pieces, and himself slain.  
Those few who escap'd Death, fled away while  
the

the Victors were enriching themselves with the Spoils of the Camp.



## REVOLUTION XXXV.



**A**FTER this Victory, *El Hassan* reduc'd several Cities which had revolted against him, and might have enjoy'd the Sweets of the Sovereign Power much longer, had he known how to govern his Subjects with Pru-

1021.

dence; but he carry'd himself so very indiscreetly, and with so little Management towards the People of *Cordoua*, that he oblig'd them to shake off their Obedience during a Journey he made to *Seville*, and to set up his Nephew *Tahia*, who after having been crown'd at *Cordoua*, brought divers Cities to submit to him.



## REVOLUTION XXXVI.



**Y***AHIA*, the new King of *Cordoua*, came to *Malaga*, from whence the Historians affirm, that he intended to set out for *Seville* in order to apprehend *El Hassan* in that City; but that Prince, ever attentive to all the Motions of his Enemy, had Intelligence from his Friends of *Tahia's* Departure; so that getting out



out of *Seville* in the Night Time, he march'd directly to *Cordoua*, and was there well receiv'd by all the Inhabitants.



## REVOLUTION XXXVII.



AS he had recover'd his Crown purely with the Assistance of the *Africans*, he look'd on with an indifferent Eye upon all their Disorders, and suffer'd them, at every Instant, to insult the Native Subjects, which so exasperated the *Spanish Moors* against him, that one Day, as he was performing his superstitious Devotions in a Mosque, they rose up in Arms against the *Barbarians*, pour'd in upon them like a Torrent, massacre'd a prodigious Number of them, made themselves Masters of the Palace, and oblig'd *El Hassan* to betake himself to Flight, which had he not done he would himself certainly have fallen a Sacrifice to their Fury.



REVOLUTION



## REVOLUTION XXXVIII.



AS soon as *El Hassan* was got into a Place of Security, he sent an Express, with all Speed, to *Seville*, to inform his Sons of all that had happen'd, and to order them to get ready Fifteen Hundred Houses to quarter the *Africans* he had with him; but the Inhabitants of that City, who had already receiv'd Notice of his Disgrace, not only refus'd to provide Quarters for his *Africans*, but even shut their Gates against *El Hassan* himself, and drove his Sons and all his Partisans out of the City; so that he was forc'd to wander from Village to Village without any one's offering to acknowledge him for Sovereign. In the mean while, the Inhabitants of *Seville*, in an Uncertainty of what Course they should take, after several Consultations, came to the Resolution of charging one *Mahomet Ben Hamet* with the Management of the State, whose Ambition was so very moderate, that they were at the greatest Trouble imaginable to make him accept an Employ which so many others were seeking with such Greediness to obtain.

When the People of *Cordoua* had expell'd *El Hassan* from their City, they made Choice of *Hasbem*, the Third of that Name, who fill'd the Throne for the Space of Two Years. During all these Transactions, *Tahia* having Notice, that *El Hassan* was wandering in the Neigh-

Neighbourhood of *Seville*, and that he was accompany'd by a very small Number of Followers, went and attack'd him, and having taken him, confin'd him in the Castle of *Anax*, which the Historians take for *Andujar*. This Year, likewise, *Mundir* Proprietor of *Saragossa*, dying, was succeeded by his Son *Tahia El Mundefar*.



## REVOLUTION XXXIX.

1024.



**ASHEM** might have enjoy'd a peaceable Reign if he would; but he so far gave himself up to the Caprices of his Prime Minister, that it might have been said, that he was rather his Subject than his Sovereign. This blind Deference to a Man who sprung from the very Dregs of the People, and who to the Meanness of his Extraction join'd every individual Quality of a compleat Tyrant, so exceedingly sower'd the Tempers of the Inhabitants, who could no longer endure to see all their most valuable Effects taken from them upon the most trivial Pretexts, that they crouded, one Day, in Shoals into the Palace, and assassinated him, as we may say, before the King's Face, whom they would likewise have certainly sacrific'd to their just Indignation, if he had not escap'd by a speedy Flight.

REVOLUTION





## REVOLUTION XL.



*ASHEM* was no sooner expell'd, 1025.  
but the People proclaim'd *Mahomet* the Second, who immediately upon his Accession to the Throne, took a Journey to visit, and inform himself of the Condition of his States. It would have been happy for him had he taken the Precaution to carry with him a good Number of Soldiers to defend him in Case of Necessity; but to his Misfortune, instead of providing himself with a Body of Guards, he took with him a great Quantity of Silver, Gold, and Jewels, which had such an Effect upon the avaricious Minds of his Domesticks, that, to make themselves Masters of his Treasure, they poison'd him.



## REVOLUTION XLI.



*HE* News of his Death being spread abroad, the Inhabitants of *Cordoua* began to think of electing a new King, and had cast their Eyes upon one nam'd *Suliman El-Mortada*; but some Members of the Assembly foreseeing the Inconveniencies might accrue from that  
VOL. II. H Election,

Election, drew off all the Votes in Favour of *Abderhaman Abde'l-Giabar*, the Fourth of that Name, and swore Fealty to him, upon Condition, that he should shew no Manner of Resentment against those who had declar'd for *Suliman El-Mortada*: But he had so little Command over his Passions, that a few Days after his Advancement to the Throne he caus'd several of them to be taken up. The Citizens inrag'd at this Insult, arm'd themselves and ran to the Prison, broke it open, and set all their Fellow-Citizens at Liberty. From thence they hasten'd to the Palace, where having found *Abderhaman*, who had hid himself in an Oven, they dispatch'd him with a Thousand Wounds. After this they proceeded to the Election of another King; but the Party of the *Africans* was so powerful, that they carry'd it in Favour of *Tabia Ben Hut*, who, according to all Appearance, was the same they

1026. had chosen Four Years before.

During these Disorders and Revolutions in *Andalusia*, the Affairs of *Aragon* were in no less a Combustion: For *Suliman Ben Hut*, who had formerly been General of the Forces of *Mundir*, Lord and Proprietor of *Saragossa*, usurp'd that Lordship from his Son *Tabia El Mundafar*; but the Governors of *Huesca*, *Lerida*, and *Tudela*, would not acknowledge him, and each of them set up for an Independent Sovereign in his own Government.





## REVOLUTION XLII.



**H**AD *Tabia* made but ever so little Reflection upon the false Politicks of some of his Predecessors, he would certainly have been cautious of giving so great an Authority to the *Africans* as he did; but blind with Prosperity, he fancy'd that the only Means to keep his Subjects in their Duty was by Violence, in which he was grossly mistaken: For having left *Cordoua* in order to make War upon *Hasbem* the Third, who was retir'd for Refuge to *Seville*, the principal Inhabitants of *Cordoua*, incens'd at his having left in that City several Hundreds of those *Barbarians*, to keep them in Awe, and to bring them under an inglorious Subjection, gave private Notice to *Ben-Huz*, Governor of *Granada*, of their present Circumstances, that he and his Confederates might send some Forces to assist them in ridding themselves of those Tyrants who for a long Time had assum'd the Privilege of choosing Kings according to their own Fancy.

No sooner had *Ben-Huz* receiv'd this Message from the Citizens of *Cordoua*, but he imparted it to *Muzeit* Governor of *Valencia*, and *Hai-ran* Governor of *Oribuela*, who march'd with great Expedition to *Granada* with all the Troops they were able to raise; and after having consulted with *Ben-Huz* how they were to proceed, they all agreed, that the best Course



they could take was to send to the People of *Cordoua* to be in a Readiness, and to inform them that they were coming to rid them of those irreconcilable Enemies of their common Liberty.

At their Arrival, soon after, the Citizens join'd with them, and took the *Barbarians* at so great a Disadvantage, that in an Instant more than a Thousand of them were left dead upon the Spot, amongst whom were almost all those of *Tabia's* Family, and the rest betook themselves to Flight, and went to seek Refuge at *Malaga*, where *Tabia* then was, whose Head *Ismael Ben Habet* caus'd to be struck off a few Days after, and sent it to *Hassem* the Third, at *Seville*, hoping by that Action to be restor'd to his Favour.

The *Africans* being expell'd *Cordoua*, and *Tabia* dead, the Inhabitants of that Capital were for chusing a new King, upon which Account there arose great Disputes among them, some declaring for *Muzeit*, and others for *Hairan*: Both the One and the Other thought they had a Right to aspire to the Throne, but reciprocally fearing each other, they departed to their respective Governments without coming to any Conclusion.

*Idris Ben Aly*, *Tabia's* Brother, being inform'd of his Disaster, immediately embark'd with some Troops at *Centa* and came over to *Malaga*, where he was proclaim'd King; but the Inhabitants of *Cordoua*, after the Departure of *Muzeit* and *Hairan*, had elected one *Hassem*, the Fourth of that Name.

1027. *Idris* had no sooner been declar'd King by the People of *Malaga*, but *Ben Huz* Governor of *Granada* went to do him Homage, and to offer

offer him the few Troops he had to assist him in getting himself acknowledg'd for Sovereign of all *Andalusia*. With this small Reinforcement *Idris* directed his March towards *Seville*, with the Design of attacking *Hassem* the Third, whom he accus'd of having procur'd his Brother *Tabia* to be assassinated, and gave the Command of his Army to *Ben Huz*. *Carmona* surrender'd at his Approach, as did likewise *Alcala del Rio*, and *Triana*, the Suburbs of *Seville*, after which he easily made himself Master of that City, none being able to give any Account what became of *Hassem* the Third. After the Reduction of *Seville* he besieg'd *Almeria* and took it.



## REVOLUTION XLIII.

WHILE all these Changes and Disturbances pass'd in the *Lower-Andalusia*, the People of *Cordona*, exasperated at the Cruelties exercis'd upon them by *Hassem* the Fourth's Prime Minister, assassinated him, and drove the King himself out of the City, who retir'd to a Castle situated upon the Top of the *Sierra-Morena*, where he flatter'd himself that he was out of all Danger; but having Notice that his Enemies design'd to besiege him in that Place, he left it and fled to *Saragossa*, where *Suliman Ben Huz* receiv'd him very favourably, and gave him the Castle of *Aguela*, where he took up his Residence till he died. After an Anarchy

of some Days, the Throne of *Cordoua* was usurp'd by one *Jalmar Ben Mahomet*.



## REVOLUTION XLIV.



THE continual Wars which for so many Years had been rending in Pieces the Empire of the *Moors* in *Spain*, drew after them its utter Ruin by the Facility the Governors found in setting themselves up for despotick Tyrants over the People they govern'd. *Adaser El Menon* who, for a considerable Time, had commanded in *Toledo* under the Authority of the Kings of *Cordoua*, was the first who shook off the Yoke of their Subjection, and caus'd himself to be acknowledg'd for Sovereign of that Metropolis of the ancient *Gothish* Kings, and of all the Province which depended thereon. *Idris*, more powerful than all the rest, held, with the Title of King, the Cities and Dependencies of *Seville*, *Granada*, *Almeria*, the whole Coast of *Andalusia*, with the Western Part of the *Portuguese Algarve*. *Hairan* subjected to his Obedience the City of *Oribuela* with its whole Territory, and *Mundir* made himself absolute Sovereign of *Saragossa*. In Process of Time several other Petty Sovereigns arose out of the Ruins of this vast Monarchy, but whose States were so inconsiderably small, or their Sovereignty of so short a Continuance, that it is not worth while to mention them, except it is to say, that their Divisions weaken'd them to such



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a Degree, that they gave Occasion to the *Christian* Princes to subdue them one after another, as we shall make appear in the Sequel.

Of all these Petty-Kings *Idris* had the shortest Reign. He died this Year, and his Death cast his Subjects into a great Perplexity about the Succession. *Jabuar*, Governor of *Cordoua*, an ambitious, bold, and enterprizing Man, did all he possibly could to procure to himself the Sovereignty of *Seville*, and of the other Cities which depended upon that Crown: But the Inhabitants of that City, who were for having a King who had no Manner of Dependance upon the Crown of *Cordoua*, frustrated all his Projects by unanimously declaring in Favour of *Abou'l-Cassem Ben Habet*, concerning whom the Historians say nothing worth relating. He died on the Thirty First of *August* this Year, and was succeeded by his Son *Mahomet*. 1028. 1041.

*Adaser El Menon*, King of *Toledo*, enjoy'd a peaceable Reign, and died this Year, leaving for his Successor *Aly-Maymon*, his Son, the First of that Name. This was a Prince of an extraordinary Merit. He signaliz'd his Generosity as well to *Christians* as *Mahometans*. It was he who gave Sanctuary to *Don Alphonso* the Sixth, as has been observ'd in the Third Book. 1053.

*Mahomet Ben Habet*, King of *Seville*, treated his Subjects with no less Lenity than he, but was less favourable to the *Christians*. He reign'd peaceably enough for Twenty Seven Years, and died on the Thirtieth of *October* this Year. 1068.



## REVOLUTION XLV.



**A**FTER his Death, his Son *Mahomet Ben Habet*, the Second of that Name, ascended the Throne. His Ambition was so great, that finding himself shut up in his Dominions, which he thought too narrow, he declar'd War against *Jalmar Ben Mahomet*, King of *Cordona*; and after several Rencounters he had with that Prince, he at last dethron'd him. Having made himself Master of all *Andalusia*,  
 1070. he conquer'd the whole Country which at present goes by the Name of The Kingdom of *Murcia*.

1074. Four Years after, having taken some Umbrage against *Aly-Maymon* King of *Toledo*, he declar'd War against him, and enter'd his Territories in an hostile Manner, where he committed inexpressible Depredations, and had infallibly pull'd him from his Throne, had not *Don Alphonso*, King of *Leon*, went to his Assistance at the Head of a powerful Army. This Monarch's Arrival greatly astonish'd the King of *Toledo*, who fear'd he was come in Favour of *Mahomet Ben Habet*. Under these Apprehensions he sent to him, intreating him to remember that he had promis'd him his Friendship. But he was most agreeably surpriz'd when *Don Alphonso* gave him to understand, "That he had taken up Arms with no other View than to defend him against his Enemy, and  
 " that

“ that therefore he had nothing to do but to  
 “ come and join him ; and, that before ma-  
 “ ny Days were past, he would undertake to  
 “ give him a very good Account of the King  
 “ of *Seville*.

The Two Armies being join'd, they imme-  
 diately march'd against *Mahomet Ben Habet*,  
 gave him Battle, and defeated him, according  
 to the Sentiments of the greatest Part of the  
 Historians, tho' there are some who affirm, that  
 the King of *Seville* betook himself to Flight as  
 soon as he understood that *Don Alphonso* and  
*Aly-Maymon* were advancing towards him.

*Aly-Maymon* died this Year, and left Two 1078.  
 Sons of very different Morals and Dispositions.

The eldest was call'd *Hassem*, and the other  
*Tabia*. The First inherited both the Virtues  
 and the Crown of his Father, but reign'd not  
 above a Year, or thereabouts. His Brother 1079.

succeeded him ; and had not been long up-  
 on the Throne before he began to display the  
 Perverseness of his Genius and Temper. There  
 was no Kind of Vice of which he was remark'd  
 not to be guilty. He was cruel, unjust, vio-  
 lent, effeminate, pusillanimous, dissolute, lasci-  
 vious, and in a Word, a compleat *Sardanapa-  
 lus*, who plung'd himself into all Manner of  
 Excesses and Debauches, and oppress'd his Sub-  
 jects with so many and such intolerable Ex-  
 tortions, that, no longer able to endure his  
 Tyranny, they commenc'd a secret Intelligence 1081.  
 with *Don Alphonso* King of *Leon*, who offer'd  
 them his Royal Protection against a Tyrant  
 who was a Dishonour to the Throne.

In Effect, some Time after, *Don Alphonso*  
 declar'd War against him ; but the great In-  
 cumbrances he had upon his Hands with all  
 the



the other *Moorish* Potentates, as we have observ'd in the Third Book, preventing him from putting in Execution what he had projected against this Tyrant, he suspended his Dethronement till this Year.

1085.

*Tahia* seeing himself in Danger of being speedily invested in his Capital by the King of *Leon*, interrupted the Course of his infamous Pleasures, and making an Effort upon his own indolent Nature, shook off that natural effeminate Pusillanimity in which he had been buried all his Life, and express'd an Intrepidity of which he was thought intirely incapable. He rais'd an Army, and implor'd the Assistance of the other *Mahometan* Potentates; but *Mahomet Ben Habet*, King of *Seville*, was too much his Enemy to comply with his Request. The King of *Badajos* would willingly have appear'd in his Defence; but fearing if he offer'd to weaken his Garrisons he might give the King of *Seville* an Opportunity of surprizing some of his Places, he remained Neuter and stood still an idle Spectator of what was transacting. The Kings of *Saragossa* and *Huesca*, lying under the Apprehensions of being every Moment attack'd by *Don Sancho* King of *Navarre*, did the same; and the King of *Denia*, having form'd the Design of seizing upon the Sovereignty of *Valencia*, seem'd to have no Manner of Interest or Concern in the Affairs of that unfortunate Prince; inso-much that finding himself abandon'd by his Neighbours, and detested by all his Subjects, he had no other Resource than to the Strength of his Ramparts, and the Valour of his Troops.

In the mean while the King *Don Alphonso* invested *Toledo*, and so vigorously push'd on the

the Siege, that the principal Inhabitants of that Metropolis perceiving themselves reduc'd to the last Extremity of Misery, us'd such pressing Instances with *Tahia* to oblige him to capitulate, that this misguided Prince, fearing they might rise against him, and either deliver him up to the King of *Leon*, or assassinate him, consented to surrender the City upon the following Terms. I. That he should be left at his Liberty to go where-ever he pleas'd, without being offer'd the least Insult. II. That all that belong'd to him as King should be deliver'd up to *Don Alphonso*. III. That such of the Inhabitants as were willing to quit the City might have free Liberty to depart unmolested. IV. That all those who desir'd to remain in their Habitations should continue in the Possession of all their Goods, moveable and immoveable. V. That all Manner of Controversies between them should be decided by Judges of their own Nation according to their own Laws and Customs. VI. That they should be oblig'd to pay no other Tributes than those they were accusom'd to pay. VII. That the great Mosque should remain in their Possession therein freely to exercise the Rites of their Religion.





## REVOLUTION XLVI.

1093.



PON these Conditions *Tabia* left the City on the Twenty Fifth of *May*, and retir'd to *Valencia*, where he continu'd till this Year, when one whose Name was *Ben Japhat* caus'd him to be assassinated to make himself Master of his Estate. Thus ended the Kingdom of *Toledo*, after it had been in the Possession of the *Moors* Three Hundred Eighty One Years, and the City was made the Capital of the Kings of *Castile*.



## REVOLUTION XLVII.

1094.



HIS Year *Don Rodrigo Dias de Vivar*, surnam'd the *Cid*, signaliz'd himself in History by his heroick Exploits; reduc'd to the Obedience of the King *Don Alphonso* the Kingdom of *Valencia*, which he held till the Year 1102, as shall be observ'd in the Sequel.



REVOLUTION





## REVOLUTION XLVIII.



THE Affairs of *Aragon* were in no quieter a Condition than those of *Valencia*, as shall be related at large in another Place, contenting ourselves for the present with saying, that *El Mutagen*, King of *Saragossa*, was dethron'd by *Don Pedro*, King of *Aragon*, notwithstanding he had call'd to his Assistance the Forces of the Petty Kings of *Huesca*, *Lerida*, *Tortosa*, and *Denia*. But it is Time to return to *Andalusia*, to see what is transacting there.

*Mahomet Ben Habet* the Second, King of *Seville*, having espous'd his Daughter *Zayda* to *Don Alphonso* the Fourth, King of *Castile*, as has been observ'd in the Third Book, those Two Princes united their Forces with the Design of seizing all that the other *Mahometan* Princes were possess'd of in *Spain*, in order to divide their Conquests between them. This Union, nevertheless, did no Ways prevent the Governors of *Granada*, *Almeria*, and *Murcia*, from rebelling against the King of *Seville*, which so perplex'd his Affairs that he was oblig'd to call in to his Assistance *Yusouf Ben Tessifin*, King of all the Western Part of *Africa*, which is that vast Country in which at present

present the Kingdoms of *Fez*, \**Tremizan*, and *Morocco* are included, the Arms of which Prince were become very famous by his many Conquests.

*Tusouf*, transported to find so favourable an Opportunity of establishing his Dominion in *Spain*, the Riches whereof excited his Avarice, immediately embark'd with a considerable Body of Troops, and landed at *Malaga*, where he was join'd by *Mahomet Ben Habet*, and with him march'd to chastise the Rebels.

All the *Mahometan* Governors of *Andalusia*, and even those of the other Provinces, penetrating into the Designs of the Kings of *Castile* and *Seville*, no sooner heard of *Tusouf*'s Arrival but they sent him their Embassadors to represent to that Prince the Danger to which the *Mussulman* Religion was expos'd; insinuating, That the King of *Seville* secretly profess'd *Christianity*: That his Daughter had publicly abjur'd her Faith when she marry'd *Don Alphonso*, to whom her Father had given in Dowry several very considerable Estates: That *Don Alphonso* had already conquer'd the Kingdom of *Toledo*: That, in a Word, if he had not the Goodness to join with them to assist them in putting a Stop to the Course of this dangerous Torrent, the *Christians* would not only swallow up the whole Kingdom of *Seville*, but would likewise devour all the rest of the Country which was in the Possession of the *Mussulmans*, and utterly exterminate the Law of their Holy Prophet in *Spain*.

*Tusouf*,

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\* The whole Kingdom of *Tremizan*, or *Tlimezan* has for many Years been under the Dominion of *Algiers*, and is the most Western Part of its Territories.

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*Tusouf*, by this Embassy, finding the Way was open to his vast and ambitious Designs, order'd the Embassadors to tell their Masters to muster up their whole Strength, and that he would immediately march and join them with all his Forces. The Historians do not agree about the Circumstances of the Success this Conjunction of *Tusouf's* Army with the Troops of the Rebels produc'd. Some say, That *Mahomet Ben Habet* was taken Prisoner in a Battle: Others affirm, That the Inhabitants of *Seville*, scandaliz'd at his having married his Daughter to a *Christian* Prince, to whom he had yielded up the Places of *Caracuel*, *Alarcos*, *Masatrigo*, *Mora*, *Ocaña*, *Huete*, *Ucles*, and *Cuenca*, with several other Towns depending thereupon, they deliver'd him up to *Tusouf*; and at the same Time elected that *African* Prince for their Sovereign. However that happen'd, it is certain that *Mahomet Ben Habet* was taken, and that he died in Prison.

After the Imprisonment of *Mahomet Ben Habet*, *Tusouf* King of *Mauritania*, having Intelligence that *Don Alphonso* King of *Castile*, intended to fall upon *Granada*, *Almeria*, and *Murcia*, us'd his Endeavours to prevent him. But that Prince having attack'd the First of those Places, the Governor *Abdallah* gave it up without making any Manner of Resistance. *Almeria* and *Murcia* did the same, as did likewise all the Towns depending upon those Cities, nor can any Account be given of what became of *Mohet-Abdallah*, Lord of *Almeria*, and *Abderhaman Ben Tasbet*, Lord of *Murcia*.

We have already briefly taken Notice of the Manner how *Tusouf* came over into *Spain*, and have said something, *en passant*, of the  
Motives



Motives which occasion'd his coming. But as what we have said is not sufficient to give a perfect Idea of a great many Passages absolutely necessary to give a Light into the Events which concern the *Revolutions* amongst the *Moors*, we have thought it requisite to take Things at some Distance higher in order to demonstrate by what Means *Tusouf* attain'd to the supreme Sovereignty over the *Moors* of *Spain*.

In the Year 1051, \**Cayem*, Caliph of *Ægypt*, who disputed the Sovereignty of *Cairewan* with the Caliph of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, finding himself unprovided with Means necessary to go through with so great an Undertaking, was advis'd by his Secretary to give Leave to a considerable Number of *Arabians* to settle in *Africa*, upon Condition of paying so much a Head, in order to raise a Sum of Money to assist him in prosecuting the War he had upon his Hands. Had those People carry'd themselves with Moderation, they might peaceably have maintain'd the Places in which they had establish'd themselves: But their insatiable Avarice and their intolerable Insolence went to such a Height, that the Native Inhabitants of the Country, no longer able to endure their Tyranny, rose up in Arms against them, which was the easier for them to do, because, at that Time, they, as we may say, were subject to no Sovereign, by Reason the Caliph *Cayem* had his Hands full in *Syria*, being engag'd in a War as well against the Caliph of *Bagdat*

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\* Not Cain, as it is in the French. But these Names are every where strangely metamorphos'd and indeed few of 'em are to be known again.

*Bagdat*, as against one *Abou'l Agesb*, to whom the *Caliph*, in *Cayem's* Prejudice, had given the Government of *Cairewan*.

The People of *Lybia* and *Numidia* were the first who took up Arms against those Tyrants, having at their Head an *African Morabite* of the Tribe of *Zinbagia*, of that Branch which was call'd The *Lumptunes*. His Name was *Abou Tefsin*, and he was one of the principal *Sheiks*, or Chiefs of that Tribe. He was a Man of very great Valour; and as he had the Command in those Parts, it was no difficult Matter for him to draw over a prodigious Multitude of People to his Party under the specious Pretext of Liberty, and to free themselves from the Tyranny as well of the *Barbary-Moors* as of the *Mahometans* of *Spain*.

The first Step he took was to dispatch away some *Morabites* into the Provinces and the Cities to dispose the People to embrace his Interest, and at the same Time he rais'd a powerful Army compos'd of *Zinbagians*, *Zenettes*, and *Numidians*, with which he pass'd over the Mountain *Atlas*, near *Agmet*, and made himself Master of the Province of *Morocco*. From thence, having subdu'd the *Arabs* and *Maragoas* who possess'd some Part of *Mauritania Tingitana*, he went and establish'd his Seat in the City of *Agmet*, and caus'd himself to be call'd *Emir el Moumineen*, which signifies, *Commander of the Faithful*, pretending that this Title belong'd to him by Reason of the Sect which he had embrac'd, being that of *Abdallah Ben Giafer*, thro' which the *Mussulmans* pretend, that the Professors thereof arrive to the Sublimity of Perfection by the Fifty Degrees of Discipline.

As all the Chiefs were *Morabites*, the *Arabian* Authors call them by that Name, as they do all those of the Province from whence they came; and the *Spanish* Historians give them the Name of *Almoravides*, joining the Article to the Word according to the Usage of the *Arabs*, and changing the B. into V. after the Pronunciation, or more properly speaking, the abusive Custom which has been introduc'd into the *Castilian* Language, which permits, in Opposition to all Rules, to use promiscuously and indistinctly one of those Letters for the other. These are the People of whom the *Spaniards* make the frequentest Mention because they became excessively powerful, and enter'd several Times into *Spain* with very numerous Armies.

*Abou Tefsin*, after having carry'd on a bloody War against the *Arabians*, and other Powers of *Africa*, and had defeated them in divers Rencounters by the Prowess of the victorious *Lumtuncs*, and had driven them out of all the Western Part of *Mauritania Tingitana*, which is now the Kingdom of *Morocco*, died, cover'd with Honour and Renown, and left for his Successor his Son *Tusouf*, who was immediately proclaim'd by the *Africans* of the Tribe of *Zinbagia*, which Prince afterwards fill'd the World with the Fame of his Warlike Exploits.

He no sooner had ascended the Throne but he began to cast an Eye of Contempt upon the City of *Agmet*, and built *Morocco*; or, according to some Historians, he finish'd it after it had been begun by his Father, and establish'd there the Seat of his Empire. Some Modern Authors attribute the Foundation of that City to one *Ben Tamon*, vulgarly call'd by



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by the *Spaniards*, *Aben Dramon*, who fled for Refuge into *Mauritania Tingitana* in the Time of the Caliph *Abdelmelec*; but the most common Opinion, and which is confirm'd by the Authors of the Country, and by antient Inscriptions is, that *Abou Tessifin* was the first Founder.

In the Year 1071, and 472 of the *Mahometan Hegira*, King *Iusouf* utterly ruin'd the Province of *Tremizan*, and made it quite desolate from one End to the other: For as he was very powerful in *Mauritania Tingitana* and in *Numidia*, he made sure of the Forces of those Two Provinces, and sent Embassadors to the Inhabitants of *Tremizan*, accompany'd by some *Morabites*, to persuade them to abandon the Interest, and abjure the Sect of the Impostor *Guemin*, who had got Possession of that Country. But the People, far from having any Regard to the Sollicitations of *Iusouf*, express'd so great a Contempt of his Power, and put such Confidence in their own Strength, that having call'd an Assembly in the City of *Anafe* to deliberate upon what they had to do, they massacre'd the Embassadors and the *Morabites*, and rais'd an Army of Fifty Thousand Men in order to pull *Iusouf* from his Throne.

That Prince highly inrag'd and quite out of Patience at this Insolence, took so well his Measures to be reveng'd, that he gave them not the Time to attack him, but broke into their Country like a furious and resistless Torrent; and having pass'd the River *Ommarabi*, he commenc'd a bloody War upon them before they could join their Forces. The *Zenetes* surpriz'd, astonish'd, and confounded at the

amazing Progress he was making, dar'd not attack him, and abandoning the Country, retir'd with their Prince towards *Fez*, hoping that they might there meet with some Assistance. *Tusouf* pursu'd them very close, demolish'd all the Places he came at, and to revenge the Insult they had offer'd him in killing his Embassadors and the *Morabites*, he caus'd all the Inhabitants of the Country he pass'd through to be cut to Pieces without Distinction of Sex, Age, or Condition, not sparing even the Infants in their Cradles. This Torrent was so impetuously rapid that nothing was capable of stopping its Course. The Inhabitants of *Fez*, far from offering to succour the *Zenetes*, gave them Chace as rebellious Subjects, and meeting with them upon the Bank of the River *Bou-Regray*, with all their Baggage, their Wives, and their Children, quite harra's'd out and almost famish'd with Hunger, they cut them every one to Pieces excepting those who, to avoid falling by the Hands of those their merciless Enemies, cast themselves headlong into the River, or from the Tops of the high Rocks which stand thereabouts. *Marmol* assures us, that upon this Occasion there perish'd of that haughty and ill advis'd People no less than a Million of Souls of either Sex and all Ages and Conditions.

*Tusouf* return'd victorious and triumphant to *Morocco*, leaving that whole vast Province intirely desart to serve for a Retreat to the wild Beasts of the Field; and some Time after he went to make War upon the People of *Fez*, who were govern'd by Two Princes whom he defeated near the Mountain *Honeguy*, about Nine Leagues from *Miqueness*, and made him-

self

self Master of all that Country without the least Opposition. From thence passing into the Kingdom of *Tremizan*, he drove from *Bugia* the Successors of *Abou'l Agefb*, Caliph of *Cairewan*, and at last pardon'd them as being *Africans* of his own Tribe, and restor'd them to their Estates, in which they continued during the whole Time of the *Morabites* Reign. He did the same by the People of *Tunis*, whom he caus'd likewise to become his Vassals and Tributaries, after which he return'd to *Morocco*; and in Imitation of his Father, he assum'd the Title of *Emir el Moumineen*, or Commander of the *Faithful*. This Word the *Spaniards* have corrupted, and call it *Miramamolin* instead of *Emir el Moumineen*.

These were the Steps by which the renowned *Tusouf* arriv'd to that exalted Pitch of Dignity and Grandeur which acquir'd him so much Honour and Respect, and which caus'd him to be call'd in by the *Moors* of *Spain* to re-establish their sinking Throne which their own intestine Dissentions had brought to such Decay, upon which Point there is a very difficult Question to be decided, to wit, At what Time he was call'd? *D'Herbelot* in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis* says in 1086. *Garibay* and *Gramaye* assure us it was in 1089. The *ANNALS* of *Toledo* fix that *Epocha* in the Year 1091. An antient Manuscript which is father'd upon *Roderic de Toledo*, marks it in the Year 1094. *Sandoval* carries it as far as 1097. *Marmol* to 1098. And *Roderic de Toledo*, in his History of the *Moors*, has fix'd it on the Fifth of *November* in the Year 1100.

Amidst such Variety of Opinions, we have determin'd to chuse that of *Sandoval*; that is



to say, we have fix'd the Entrance of the *Morabites* into *Spain* at the Year 1097. We are the rather inclin'd to espouse this Opinion, because all the Historians agree, that *Don Alphonso* King of *Leon*, and *Mahomet Ben Habet* his Father-in-Law, did not call in *Tusouf* till after the Marriage of *Zayda* with *Don Alphonso*, which Nuptials were celebrated in 1096, or 1097, as appears by the Death of *Don Sancho*, Son of that Monarch by the Princess *Zayda*, which Prince lost his Life at the Battle of *Ucles*, in the Year 1108, and was then about Ten or Eleven Years old; insomuch that the Arrival of the *Morabites* in *Spain* happening after that Marriage, it absolutely destroys the Sentiments of *D'Herbelot*, *Garibay*, *Gramaye*, and the Author of the *ANNALS* of *Toledo*, as it likewise does the Attestation of the Manuscript which is attributed to *Roderic de Toledo*. And even had we not grounded ourselves upon Conjectures so capable of determining us to fix upon this *Epocha*, we have still another Proof which nothing can possibly confute; which is, That the *Morabites* lost the Sovereignty of *Spain* in 1150, after having been possess'd of it for Fifty Three Years: So that subtracting the Fifty Three Years of Possession, there remains 1097. Having thus given these previous Intimations, we shall now proceed to the History of *Tusouf*, First King of *Spain*, of the *Morabite* Family.

*Don Alphonso* King of *Leon*, perceiving that *Tusouf*, instead of assisting *Mahomet Ben Habet*, his Father-in-Law, had depriv'd him of his Realm and kept him confin'd in Prison, sent against him a powerful Army under the Conduct of the Counts *Don Rodrigo* and *Don Garcia*

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*Garcia de Cabra.* The King of *Mauritania* understanding that they were already in *La Mancha*, left *Murcia*, where he then was, and march'd out to encounter them; and having met them between *Lexuza* and *St. Clement*, near a Town call'd *Rueda*, he attack'd and defeated them.

The next Year the King *Don Alphonso*, being bent upon Revenge, sent a very numerous Army into *Andalusia*, commanded by the famous *Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar*, surnam'd the *Cid*, who presenting himself before *Tusouf* near *Aleslea*, upon the Bank of the River *Guadalkivir*, fill'd him with such Terror, that he thought fit to retire to *Seville*; and some Time after, being sensible of his Insufficiency to make Head against so formidable an Enemy without greater Strength, and besides observing that some of the *Christian-Mozarabes* began to murmur against him, he plac'd Governors, upon whose Fidelity he might depend, in all the Places of Importance, as well to oppose the Enemy as to keep the Factious in their Duty, and then pass'd over into *Africa* in order to raise more Forces.

Immediately upon his Arrival there, he caus'd the \**Gazia* (which amongst the *Moors*, is answerable to our *Crusado*) to be publish'd, and

1098.

1099.

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\* This Word being already Thrice repeated, with the same erroneous Explication, I think myself oblig'd to disabuse the Curious, and to let them know, that this Interpretation must certainly be the Product of some Spaniard who was not extraordinarily well vers'd in the Arabick Tongue: For *Gazia* signifies any sudden Expedition, whether against Christians or others. But the proper Term for a Religious War, or *Crusado*

and sent the Troops he had rais'd over to *Spain* under the Command of one *Almohait-Tabia*, who presently after his landing join'd the Army which *Tusouf* had left behind him, and began his March to try if he could be able to recover *Toledo* which *Don Alphonso* had taken from the *Moors*: But he met with so vigorous a Resistance from the Inhabitants, that he found himself oblig'd to raise the Siege, and the *Christians* had so many Advantages over him every Time he came to an Engagement with them, that *Tusouf* was forc'd to repass into *Spain* to support his tottering Sovereignty there.

1108. He had several Encounters with the *Christians*, of which we shall here make no Mention, because they have no Connexion with the *Revolutions* amongst the *Moors*, which are the sole Objects and Substance of this Book. He
1110. died this Year, and his Son *Aly Ben Tusouf* having been declar'd his Successor, that Prince came over into *Spain*, where he was engag'd in very great Wars with the *Christians*, as were likewise all his Successors, the last of whom was *Tessifin*, who was burn'd alive in a Castle whither he had fled for Refuge after having lost a Battle in *Africa* which was fought between

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*fado* is, *El Gehed*, to which they add *Fi Sibillillah*, which is as much as to say, Assistance or Strength for God's Sake. This is what they always use when they go against the Enemies of their Self; and such Wars are held so very meritorious, that they affirm, that all the True Believers who have the Happiness to fall therein are convey'd directly to Paradise. *Fezzah* is another Word us'd upon such Occasions, but implies no other than a speedy Congregation of People.



tween him and one *Abdelmoumin*, as shall be taken Notice of in the Sequel.

We shall at present content ourselves with only saying, that the Employment the Kings of *Castile* and *Leon* found the *Morabites*, encourag'd one *Zafadola* (descended from the antient Kings of *Cordoua*, and Governor of *Roda* in *La Mancha*) to revolt, in order to be reveng'd upon *Tessifin* for the Design he understood that Prince had laid to destroy him and all his Family, Relations, and Friends. After having maturely reflected upon the Measures he was to take, he concluded that the best Course he could follow was to implore the Protection of *Don Alphonso* the Seventh, King of *Leon*, and to deliver up into that Prince's Hands his City and Government. To this Purpose he privately sent some Persons in whom he could confide to make that Proposal to the King, which was accepted of, and a few Days after himself, his Family, his Relations, and Friends all went to do Homage to *Don Alphonso*, who receiv'd them into the Number of his Vassals, took Possession of *Roda*, gave to *Zafadola* Castles and a sufficient Estate in Land to enable him to live in Plenty and Splendor, and to his Kinsmen and Friends where-withal to maintain themselves in a Manner suitable to their Condition.



## REVOLUTION XLIX.

1145.



**ZAFADOLA**, protected by the King of *Leon*, had caball'd for a long Time in order to bring to bear the Project he had laid of revolting against the *Morabites*: So that after he had got together a considerable Number of Troops, he gave the Command of one Part of them to a certain Person whose Name was *Mahomet*, who made himself Master of *Mortola*, *Murcia*, *Valencia*, *Merida*, and *Tortosa*, in which Places he cut the Throats of all those who made any Difficulty to abandon the *Morabite* Interest; and at the same Time, *Zafadola* did the like at *Granada*, *Jaen*, *Ubeda*, *Baexa*, and *Andujar*.

Upon these great Disorders, *Ben Gama*, Lieutenant-General to *Tessifin*, assembled all the *Africans* he could muster up, and at their Head attempted to stop the impetuous Progress of the *Spanish Mahometans*, but was defeated, and oblig'd to retire with the broken Remains of his Troops to the Castle of *Cordoua*, after he had given the necessary Orders for the Security of *Carmona*, *Seville*, and *Almodovar*.

At the same Time there was at *Cordoua* a certain *Alfaqui* nam'd *Ben Fandi*, a Person of very great Reputation, extremely wealthy, and held as a Saint amongst the *Mahometans*. Under the Veil of his outward Sanctity, he was inwardly devour'd by the Flame of an immoderate

derate Ambition, and aspir'd to nothing less than the Throne. Having sent for one *Farax*, Governor of *Calatrava*, and several others of his Confidants, he represented to them the Danger that attended the setting the Crown upon *Zafadola's* Head, by Reason of his being so intirely devoted to the *Christians*: That to avoid this Evil, it was absolutely necessary to destroy him, and that for his own Part, he would most willingly take upon himself the Charge of the Government, how burthensome soever it might be, being perswaded a good and honest Man was strictly oblig'd to sacrifice all Things for the Advancement of his Religion. This Discourse, set off with all the insinuating and seducing Arguments that a feigned Zeal is capable of inventing, made upon the Minds of the whole Assembly all the Impression that he could expect or desire; inso-much that it was unanimously agreed, That it would be no Matter of very great Difficulty to destroy *Zafadola*.

This Affair was not carry'd on with so much Secrefy, but that *Zafadola* had Notice of the whole Conspiracy, and understanding that *Farax* was the Person who had undertaken to assassinate him, he resolv'd to pay him in his own Coin. To this Purpose, he pretended some Expedition in the Neighbourhood of *Cordova*, and sent to desire *Farax* to accompany him, who readily came, the better to conceal his Designs. But they were scarce got without the City Walls, when *Zafadola*, having before given Notice of what had pass'd to the *Christians* who were under his Command, order'd them to kill *Farax*, which they instantly did upon the Spot.

When



When *Ben Fandi* heard of the Death of his Accomplice *Farax*, he immediately caus'd all the Inhabitants of *Cordoua* to take up Arms, and put himself in Pursuit of *Zafadola*; but he was already got into *Jaen*, from whence he went to *Granada*, and soon after surpriz'd and took *Ubeda*, *Baeza*, and several other Places, insomuch that the whole Province of *Andalusia* was divided into Three Factions: *Seville* and all its Dependencies belong'd to *Ben Gama*; *Cordoua*, with its whole District, and *Calatrava*, to *Ben Fandi*; and *Jaen*, *Granada*, *Murcia*, with all their Precincts to *Zafadola*.

1146.

*Zafadola*, in Quality of a Vassal to the Emperor *Don Alphonso*, sent him Intelligence of all that had been transacted the last Year, and intreated that Monarch to send him a Reinforcement to assist him to reduce several Cities which had refus'd to acknowledge him; whereupon the Emperor order'd *Don Manrique* Governor of *Toledo*, *Don Armengol* Count of *Urgel*, *Don Ponce* Governor of *Salamanca*, and *Don Martin Fernandez* Governor of *Hita*, to march immediately with all their Troops to his Assistance. All those Commanders enter'd at once into *Andalusia*, and committed such great Disorders in every Place thro' which they pass'd, that the *Moors*, to get rid of such troublesome Guests, offer'd their Submission to *Zafadola*, who accepted their Proposals, and presently went to join the Emperor's Generals, and desir'd them to restore the *Mahometan* Prisoners and Plunder they had taken from the *Moors*, which they refus'd to comply with, saying, they had Orders from the Emperor to ruin all the Neighbourhood of *Ubeda*, and *Baeza*, and that therefore they could not grant his Request.

Upon

Upon which *Zafadola* told them, That if they would not do it voluntarily, he would oblige them to do it by Force. The Emperor's Officers, not able to bear with the Insolence of that Revolter, put themselves in a Posture of making him repent it, and immediately they began to attack his Troops, who turn'd their Backs at the first Onset. *Zafadola* was taken Prisoner, and conducted to the *Christian* Camp, where a Troop of Soldiers, call'd *Los Pardos*, or The *Brown*, gathering about him in a disorderly Manner, they fell into a great Dispute concerning that Prisoner, contending who should have him. In this Contestation *Zafadola* was kill'd, to the great Dissatisfaction and Regret both of the Generals and of the Emperor, who might have made much Advantage of him if he could have had him alive in his Power.

When the Emperor's Troops were withdrawn, *Ben Gama*, Lieutenant-General to *Tessifin*, speedily got together all the *Africans* he could pick up, with all the Militia of *Seville*, *Carmona*, and other Places under *Tessifin's* Obedience, and went to besiege *Ben Fandi* in *Cordoua*, who no sooner had Notice that they were marching towards that Capital, but he left it and retir'd to *Andujar*, where he had a great Number of Partisans. *Ben Gama*, nevertheless, made himself Master of *Cordoua*, and then went and laid Siege to *Andujar*, where he met with a vigorous Resistance, as well from the Inhabitants as from *Ben Fandi* himself, who having sent to demand Assistance from the Emperor, upon Condition of delivering up the Place into his Possession, and of acknowledging him for his Sovereign, that Monarch gave Orders  
to

to Don Ferdinand Joanes, Governor of *Limia*, to repair to *Andujar* with all his Troops, till he himself follow'd in Person.

A few Days after, the Emperor enter'd *Andalusia* at the Head of his whole Army, and laid Siege to *Cordoua*, to which Place *Ben Gama*, upon the Arrival of Don Ferdinand Joanes, had retir'd. The City was press'd so close, that *Ben Gama*, not finding himself in a Condition to make any longer Defence, deliver'd it up to the Emperor and became his Vassal.

While these Things were transacting in *Spain*, one whose Name was *Reverter*, a Native of *Barcelona*, whom *Tessfin* had trusted with the Command of his Forces in *Africa* against the *Almohades*, died at *Morocco*, which oblig'd *Tessfin*, to supply the Loss of that Great Man, to reinforce his Army in order to oppose the Progress of *Abdelmoumin*: But notwithstanding all his Efforts, he was defeated, and forc'd to flee for Refuge to a Castle, where *Abdelmoumin* besieg'd him, and burn'd both him and all who had accompany'd him in that their Sanctuary. Thus ended the Empire of the *Morabites*, both in *Africa* and *Spain*.

After the Death of *Tessfin*, one nam'd *Mahomet Ben Azal*, surnam'd *El Rey Lobo*, or *King Wolf*, perceiving that the *Almohades* had seiz'd upon the Empire of the *Morabites* in *Africa*, pass'd over into *Spain*, and found Means to make himself Master of the Kingdoms of *Murcia*, *Valencia*, *Guadix*, and *Baeza*, and by his Lenity, Affability, and Liberality gain'd the Hearts of all the *Moors*.

1148. At this Time the Emperor was Master of *Cordoua*; and as the perfidious *Ben Gama* imagin'd that the Ruin of his false Religion depended



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pended upon that Prince's Life, he resolv'd to destroy him by a Stratagem. To this Purpose, he sent him Word, That if he would privately and silently hasten to *Jaen*, he would put him in Possession of that City. The Emperor was just ready to precipitate himself into the Snare that artful Traytor had laid for him, but was advis'd to the contrary by his Ministers, who thought it not at all convenient for him to hazard his Royal Person upon the Faith of a Barbarian, who might have some evil Designs, as Experience shew'd he had; for the Emperor having sent the Count *Don Manrique*, and some other Noblemen of his Court, to take Possession of the City of *Jaen* in his Name, that Villain caus'd them to be apprehended and cast into a Dungeon, which so far alienated the Minds of the Inhabitants from him, that to avoid being expos'd to the Emperor's just Indignation, they poniarded the Traytor, and set the Noblemen at Liberty.

Notwithstanding *Abdelmoumin* had depriv'd *Teffin* of his Life, as has been already observ'd, the Inhabitants of *Morocco* made Choice of *Isaac*, one of his Sons, for their King, tho' he was but a Child; insomuch, that in order to become absolute Sovereign of the *Morabite* Empire, he found himself oblig'd to employ all the Strength he could raise to make himself be acknowledg'd by those Citizens who had shut their Gates against him. But as he had a very formidable Army he carry'd the City by Assault, caus'd all who refus'd to submit to his Obedience to be cut to Pieces, and was by the rest proclaim'd Sovereign Monarch of all *Africa*.



## REVOLUTION L.

1149.



IN the Month of *April*, this Year, the Province of *Andalusia* was overflow'd by a Shower of Blood instead of Rain, a fatal Prefage of that bloody Shower which was soon after to follow, I mean the Blood which was to be spilt in an intestine War, which reduced the *Moors* to the last Extremities of Misery: For *Abdelmoumin* had no sooner secur'd his Empire in *Africa*, but he pass'd over to *Spain*, at the Head of a powerful Army, with the Design of exterminating whatever was yet left of the *Morabites*. At his first Arrival, the Cities of *Seville* and *Granada* acknowledg'd him for their Sovereign: All the *Christians* whom he found there were put to the Sword, except some few who fled for Sanctuary to the Territories of the *Christian* Princes. Presently after this, the *Barbarian* attempted to seize upon the Kingdoms of *Murcia* and *Valencia*, but *Mahomet Abeneat* (rather *Ben Eiad*) prevented him for that Time. This Year he again made the same Attempt; but *Mahomet Abenlop*, or \* *Lot*, resisted him for some Time with incredible Valour, and gave him a notable Defeat. This Disgrace, far from discouraging him, did

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\* I believe that Name should be every where *Ben Lot*, there being no such Name as the other, that I ever heard of.

did but exasperate him the more. He return'd to the Charge a Third Time, and wanted very little of ruining *Abenlop*, when that Prince declar'd himself Tributary to *Don Raymond* Prince of *Aragon*, who furnish'd him with Succours of sufficient Force not only to make Head against that barbarous Enemy, but likewise to attack and defeat him in a bloody Battle they fought. Nevertheless that *Barbarian* so re-inforc'd his Army, that *Mahomet Abenlop*, being no longer able to stand before him, notwithstanding he had further Succours from the Prince of *Aragon*, was oblig'd to put his Dominions under the Protection of the Emperor *Don Alphonso*, who was the only Prince that was in a Capacity of defending him from the Danger which threaten'd him. 1154

The Emperor having engag'd himself to appear in the Defence of his new Vassal, march'd into *Andalusia*, and laid Siege to *Guadix*; but the *Moors* had taken such Care to fortify that City, that, after divers Assaults, he thought fit to give over that Enterprize, and to content himself with ravaging the Neighbourhood of the Place, and the whole Territory of *Lorca*, leaving the rest till the ensuing Year. But having in the next Campaign obtain'd a compleat Victory over *Abdelmonmin*, he died in his Return, as has been declar'd in the Third Book. 1156







## REVOLUTION LI.

1158.



*Abomet Abenlop*, nevertheless, still continued carrying on the War against *Abdelmoumin*, and this Year, not contenting himself with standing upon the defensive, he march'd against his Enemy to attack him, assisted by *Don Sancho* King of *Navarre*, and gave him a very signal Overthrow. But unfortunately for him, the Inhabitants of *Granada*, sustain'd by a numerous Body of Troops *Abdelmoumin* had sent them, revolted from their Obedience to *Abenlop*, and notwithstanding the great Numbers of Troops with which the *Christian* Potentates had furnish'd him, his Army was routed and cut to Pieces, and the *Almohades* made themselves Masters of *Almeria*.

1162.

*Abdelmoumin* perceiving the Difficulties he met with in making a compleat Conquest of the *Moorish* Empire in *Spain*, pass'd, this Year, over to *Africa*, in order to levy Forces capable of accomplishing the utter Extirpation of the *Morabites*. But as he was just ready, with a formidable Army, to embark at *Sallee* to repass over to *Andalusia*, he was seiz'd with a violent Distemper, of which he died on the Eleventh Day of *June*, this Year. He was succeeded by his Son *Iusouf* to the Prejudice of *Mahomet* that Prince's elder Brother.

1163.

The new King, whose Ambition exceeded even that of his Father, wag'd a cruel War with

with *Mahomet Abenlop*, and had infallibly de-thron'd him, had he not speedily took a Journey to *Toledo* to implore the Assistance of *Don Alphonso* the Eighth, King of *Castile*, to whom he did Homage for his Estates: By this Means he became so powerful, that notwithstanding *Tusouf*, King of the *Almohades*, sent this Year a very great Army against him, commanded by an experienc'd General whose Name was *Omar*, he could not obtain any considerable Advantage over him. 1168.

While *Tusouf* was employ'd in *Africa* to appease the Troubles the *Zenetes* had rais'd in the Kingdom of *Tremizan*, he had Intelligence, that *Mahomet Abenlop*, assisted by the King of *Castile*, was making a great Progress in his *Spanish* Dominions. This melancholy News gave him an extreme Chagrin, and oblig'd him, with all possible Speed, at the Head of a formidable Army, to repass into *Spain*, where he found almost all the *Christian* Potentates arm'd in Favour of *Mahomet Abenlop*. Upon his Arrival, great Things were transacted, of which, by Reason of their Relation to the Affairs of the *Christians*, we have already treated in the Third Book, and therefore shall not repeat them in this.





## REVOLUTION LII.

1171.



**T**HIS Year, amidst all those Com-  
 motions, died *Mahomet Abenlop* (*Ben  
 Lop*, or rather *Ben Lot*) and his  
 Death caus'd such Disorders amongst  
 the *Moors*, that the Inhabitants of  
*Granada* submitted themselves to *Yusuf*, who  
 immediately made himself Master of all its De-  
 pendencies, and likewise of the City of *Jaen*.  
 After this, passing by *Almeria*, he subjected  
 all that Country; and crossing the Kingdom  
 of *Toledo*, he pass'd by *Cuenca*, accompany'd  
 by his Son *Tacob-Almansor*, (or *El Mansore*)  
 and laid Siege to *Huete*, which Place he would  
 infallibly have taken, by Reason of the pres-  
 sing Extremities to which the Inhabitants were  
 driven for Want of Water, had it not been  
 for an extraordinary Shower of Rain which  
 happen'd to fall upon St. *Justus's* Day; and at  
 the same Time a considerable Body of *Gascons*  
 and *Bearnois* coming to relieve that Place, the  
*Barbarian* was oblig'd to raise the Siege, and  
 went to compleat the Conquest of the King-  
 dom of *Murcia*. From thence he went into  
*Portugal*, where he died of a Wound he receiv'd,  
 according to some Historians, from one of his  
 Domesticks, but according to others, from a  
*Portuguese*. His Son *Tacob-Almansor* succeeded  
 him, and likewise took the Title of *Emir el  
 Moumineen*.

The



The Death of *Tasouf* occasion'd such great Revolutions in *Africa*, that *Tacob-Almansor* was oblig'd, in all Diligence, to return thither in order to appease them. At his Arrival, the People of *Fex* acknowledg'd him for their Sovereign; but the Kings of *Tremizan* and *Tunis* having deny'd him their Obedience, he patch'd up a Peace with them, and having carry'd on a private Intelligence with the *Arabs*, he stirr'd them up against those Princes. When he perceiv'd they were hotly engag'd in the War he had caus'd them to undertake in order to gain his Ends, he rais'd a numerous Army in *Mauritania Tingitana*, under Pretext of defending them against those Revolters, and breaking into the Kingdom of *Tremizan*, he join'd with their Enemies, and stripp'd them of all their Possessions.

To keep those Provinces in Peace, and to deliver them from the Insults and Oppressions of the *Arabs*, he took along with him the greatest Part of the Inhabitants under the specious Pretence of delivering them from those frightful Desarts, in order to give them a better and more fruitful Country to inhabit; insomuch that he establish'd the better Sort of them in the Provinces of *Duquela*, *Tremizan*, and *Agzar*, and sent the rest into *Numidia* and *Lybia*, to weaken their Strength by dividing them. All those who settled in *Mauritania Tingitana* became his Vassals, after which he reduc'd the greatest Part of *Africa* to his Obedience, and had subjected the whole, had not the Disturbances which arose in *Spain* compell'd him to pass over thither to stop the Impetuosity of the furious Storm which was gathering over his Head.

1173.

1174. After the Death of *Abenlop*, King of *Valencia*, his Subjects divided themselves, some following the Interest of his Son, while the rest declar'd for the *Almohades*, which gave *Don Alphonso* King of *Aragon* an Opportunity of making himself Master of the Capital of their Kingdom by the Connivance of a *Morabite* Nobleman, who deliver'd up the City into his Possession, upon Condition, that he should be receiv'd in Quality of that Prince's Subject, and should remain with the Government of the Place. From thence *Don Alphonso* went and attack'd *Xativa*, which was in the Possession of *Abenlop's* Son, and never left it till that *Arabian* had surrender'd the City and done Homage to him.

Had *Tacob-Almansor's* Affairs been in a quieter Condition, it is certain he would have found Work enough for the *Christian* Princes to harrafs and annoy them very much: But he was scarce arriv'd in *Spain*, but he was oblig'd to return to *Africa* to reduce some of his Governors who had rebell'd against him, leaving *Don Ferdinand de Castro*, notwithstanding he was a *Christian*, to command his Armies in *Andalusia*.

1175. We have already seen, in the Third Book, the great Conquests this Prince made in *Africa* and in many Parts of the *Levant*, and the Wars which he vigorously carry'd on in *Spain* against the *Christian* Potentates; so that we have now no more to say than to give an Account how he ended his Days, rather not to lose this Occasion of giving our Readers an Idea of the Vicissitude and Instability of Humane Affairs, than to represent his unhappy End as an Event that has any Relation to the  
Revolutions

Book IV. *Revolutions in Spain.* 135

*Revolutions* which happen'd in *Spain* amongst the *Moors*.

While *Tacob-Almanfor* was prosecuting the War in *Spain*, he understood, that the Governor of *Morocco* had taken the Advantage of his Absence to alienate his Subjects from their Loyalty to him, and had caus'd the *Arabs* of the neighbouring Provinces to revolt. Upon the News of this Rebellion he pass'd over into *Africa* with a powerful Army. That Rebel not daring to wait his coming in the Field, shut himself up in the City. *Tacob-Almanfor* besieg'd him, and batter'd the Place for a whole Year without being able to reduce it. Perceiving his Troops were tir'd with so tedious a Siege, and began to lose Courage, he assembled his Officers, and after he had encourag'd them by a pathetick Harangue, he commanded them to bring, the next Morning, every one a Ladder of the Height of the City Walls; insomuch that there were Four Thousand Ladders got ready. At Break of Day he gave a general Assault, and putting himself at the Head of his Army, he told his People, "That hitherto they had been fighting for Honour, but that from thence forwards they were to fight for Revenge which they justly ought to take upon those infamous Ravishers who held their Wives and Children in their Possession." The Assault continued Three Days and Three Nights without the least Intermision, at the End of which the chief Defendants were oblig'd to abandon the City and to retire for Refuge into the Castle. The Garrison and almost all the Inhabitants were put to the Sword. Immediately after *Tacob-Almanfor* having enter'd the City, and finding the



Streets all fill'd with Heaps of Carcases, forbade, upon Pain of Death, that any of them should be buried, and upon its being represented to him, that the Stench of the Putrefaction would breed a Contagion, he went out of his Palace, and rubbing the Sleeve of his Garment in the Blood of some of the dead Bodies, he put it close to his Nose, and said, *Nothing in the World has so agreeable an Odour as the Blood of an Enemy, especially that of a Traytor!* nor would he suffer the Carcases to be remov'd, though they already began to infect the Air. However at last not able himself to endure the Stench of that Infection, he caus'd them all to be burn'd to Ashes.

While this tragick Scene was transacting in the City, the Governor, who had retir'd into the Castle, beginning to want Provisions, had Recourse to a *Morabite* of great Reputation for Sanctity, who made his Peace with *Jacob-Almansor*: But as that Prince had engag'd himself by a solemn Oath to enter the Castle over the Wall, he caus'd a Scaffold to be erected at the Gate and so pass'd over it into the Citadel. The Governor went to pay him his Respects, accompany'd by the *Morabite* and the Accomplices of his Treason, and casting himself at his Feet, implor'd his Pardon: But the King, not able to master his Passion, threw his Slipper at his Face, and immediately caus'd both his and the Heads of all who had been concern'd in his Rebellion to be struck off. The *Morabite* astonish'd at so manifest a Breach of the solemn Promise he had made him, represented to him, that it ill became a great Monarch like him to violate his Treaties; which Reprimand made such an

an Impression upon the Mind of that Prince, that overwhelm'd with Regret, he went wandering about the World, and at last died at *Alexandria*, exercising the Profession of a Baker. 1206



## REVOLUTION LIII.



THE People of *Morocco*, finding themselves depriv'd of a Sovereign for whom they had a most tender Affection, believ'd he was gone to visit the Sepulchre of their Prophet *Mahomet*; and as his Absence might produce pernicious and fatal Consequences, they conferr'd the Management of the State upon *Ibrahim* his Brother: And his Subjects having waited a whole Year, without hearing any Manner of Tidings what was become of him, they began to doubt of his Life, supposing he had died in his Pilgrimage, and elected his Son *Mahomet El Nassir* for their Sovereign.

This Prince having taken the Reins of the Empire of *Africa* into his Hands, after the Death of his Father, confirm'd the Kings of *Tremixan* and *Tunis* in the full Possession of their Estates, and the Governors of *Numidia* and *Lybia* in their Emploies. As he was a Prince of a very warlike Disposition, he passed over to *Spain* at the Head of One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Horse, and Three Hundred Thousand Foot, to stop the Progress of the King of *Castile* who had taken several Places

1210.

1212. Places from the *Moors*. Notwithstanding his personal Bravery he could not avoid being several Times beaten; insomuch that after the famous Battle which was fought near *Muradel*, in which he lost Sixty Thousand Men, he pass'd over to *Africa*, and left the Government of his Realm to his Brother *Abou Sâad*, who was afterwards proclaim'd King of *Valencia*.

At his Arrival there, he found his Subjects so incens'd against him upon Account of the Loss of the Battle of *Muradel*, the whole Fault of which Miscarriage they imputed to him, that soon after he died of mere Chagrin, and left his Crown to \**Ceyed Barrax*, one of his Grandsons, against whom all the Governors of the Provinces revolted, and more particularly those of *Tremizan*, *Fez*, and *Tunis*. The First, who was an *African* of the Tribe of *Zeneta*, whose Name was *Gamarazan*, (rather *Gamar Hassain*) Son of *Zeyan* of the Race of the *Abdulvates* (rather *Beni Abdelwabab*) antient Kings of *Tremizan*, and Vassal to the *Almohades*, caused this whole Kingdom to revolt. But as he was not powerful enough to make Head against the new King of *Morocco*, when he understood that Prince was coming against him he retir'd into a Castle, where being just upon the Brink of Ruin, he sent him one of his Relations, who feigning himself a Malecontent, told *Seyde*, that he would shew him a certain Place where he might manage it so as

1213.

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\* This, I take it, should be *Seyde Bou-Ras*, or *Seydo Great Head*, which is a common Name, whereas the other is no Name at all. But these Absurdities are too frequent in the Spanish Authors.



to become Master of the Castle; and having conducted him near that Place to take a View thereof, he kill'd him, and retir'd into the Castle. His Death caus'd so great a Disorder and Consternation in his Army, that *Gamar Hassain* defeated it, and caus'd himself to be proclaim'd King of *Tremizan*, where he reign'd during his whole Life, and upon his Death-Bed ordain'd, that his Successors should call themselves *Beni Zeyanes* instead of the Name of *Abdulvates* which till then they had gone by.

*Abdulac* (rather *Abdallah*) Governor of *Fez* for the *Almohades*, who was of the Tribe of *Zeneta*, of the Branch of the *Beni Merins*, made himself very powerful. *Tacob* his Brother seiz'd upon the Cities of *Rabat* and *Anfa* in the Province of *Tremizan*, and defeated the *Almohades* in a Battle he gave them in the Neighbourhood of *Mequinez*, from whence they fled for Safety to *Morocco*, which considerably increas'd the Power of the *Beni Merins*; for after the Death of *Abdallah*, the Kingdom fell to his Son, and his Uncle was appointed to be his Tutor; but that young Prince dying soon after, the Uncle remain'd Master of his Estate, and caus'd himself to be call'd King of *Fez*, with the Title of *Muley* \* *Che*. This Word *Muley* signifies *Master*, *Lord*, or *Owner* of any Thing, and is given to none but to Kings and Princes of the Blood Royal, being synonymous with *Sultan* which is *King*; for they indifferently

1214.

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\* This I take to be a Corruption of *Muley Sheikh*. See Book III. Page 476, in the Note, where something is said of the Word *Muley*.

rently make Use of either the one or the other of those Words.

Besides those we have been speaking of, a certain Person nam'd *Mahomet Budobus*, (corrupted from *Bou Doboofe*) Uncle to *Seyde*, revolted likewise with the Provinces of *Tedla* and *Dominet*, and made a League with the King of *Fex*, to whom he gave up the first of those Provinces to obtain from him Succours to assist him against *Abdelcader*.

The King of *Morocco* having Notice of this Alliance, and that those Two Enemies were marching against him, abandon'd his Capital, which *Bou Doboofe* immediately seiz'd, and sent one of his principal Officers after him, who kill'd him in *Sugulmisse*. *Bou Doboofe* victorious, would no longer stand to the Agreement he had made with his Confederate, but on the contrary, as Chief of the Family of the *Almohades*, declar'd War against him in order to drive him from *Fex*, which he had usurp'd from that Family. From this Division proceeded a bloody War which ended in the Overthrow and Death of *Bou Doboofe*, and *Ben Yusuf* remain'd Master of *Morocco*; and the whole Province of *Mauritania Tingitana* having fallen to the *Beni Merins*, they afterwards made themselves Masters of the Kingdoms of *Tremixan* and *Tunis*. It is true, there were Governors of the Tribe of the *Almohades*, who remain'd in Possession of what they had got, upon Condition of acknowledging the Kings of *Morocco* for their Sovereigns.



## REVOLUTION LIV.



**W**HILE all these Disorders pass'd in Africa, one whose Name was *Saad-Allah*, Son of *Ferez*, Cousin-Germain to *Mahomet El Nassir*, took his Advantage of this Juncture to make himself be proclaim'd King of *Seville*, and got Possession of *Ezija*, *Xeres*, and *Carmona*. *Ben Mahomet* King of *Baeza*, believing himself not safe in his Capital confirm'd the Alliance he had before made with the King *Don Ferdinand*, in order to obtain his Assistance, and offer'd him the Cities of *Capilla*, *Salvatierra*, and the Citadel of *Baeza*, of which the Grand Master of *Calatrava* took Possession in the Name of the King of *Castile*. But the Inhabitants of *Capilla* having refus'd to submit, *Don Ferdinand* besieg'd their City, and forc'd them to acknowledge him. The People of *Cordona* inrag'd and scandaliz'd at the Agreement *Ben Mahomet* had concluded with the King of *Castile*, form'd a Conspiracy against his Life, assassinated him, and sent his Head to the King of *Seville*, who conceiv'd such Horror at that inhumane Deed, that he commad'd the Throats of them who had made him that Present to be cut, and caus'd their Heads to be cast to Dogs.

1223.

1224.

Six Years pass'd in Dissentions and Wars, sometimes amongst the *Moors* and sometimes amongst the *Christians*, at the End of which

1231.

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one nam'd *Ben-Hut*, a *Moor* of great Learning and Understanding, and one of the principal Men in the whole Country, assembled great Numbers of People under Pretext of his Zeal for Religion; and having made himself Master of several Places in the Kingdom of *Granada*, he caus'd himself to be stil'd the *Promoter* and *Reformer* of the *Mahometan Law*: So that preaching against the *Almohades*, he had an Opportunity of defeating them in a Battle, and took from them the Cities of *Almeria*, *Granada*, *Cordoua*, *Ezija*, and many others, without laying down or resting his Arms till he had driven them from all those Places.



## REVOLUTION LV.



UNDER Favour of all these Revolutions, *Abud-Zeyen* (rather *Bou-Zeyan*) made himself Master of *Valencia*: One nam'd *Abu-Haquez*, (rather *Bou-Ackas*) of *Murcia*: A certain Chieftain call'd *Abdala Ibni* (rather *Abd' El Nabi*) seiz'd upon *Niebla* and the Province of \* *Algarve*. The Inhabitants of *Seville* chose

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\* Perhaps it may not be disagreeable to some to know the Meaning of this Word, it being one of the King of Portugal's Titles, who stiles himself King of Portugal and Algarve. It is no other than the Spanish Corruption of *El Garbe*, which signifies the West.

chose for their King a noble Moor call'd *Giafar*; and those of *Granada*, after the Death of *Ben-Hut*, proclaim'd *Mahomet Abou-Sayd*, a Descendant of *Alamar*, or *El Hamar*.

This new King is spoken of after so many different Manners, that being as we are absolutely unable of discovering his true Original, nor capable of declaring by what Means he obtain'd the Regal Power, we have determin'd to deliver what both Sides say upon this Subject, leaving our Readers at their Liberty to make Choice of that Opinion which seems to them most conformable to the Notions they have conceiv'd of so confus'd an History.

*Marmol*, in the Second Book of the First Tome of his History of *Africa*, says, That *Mahomet Abou-Sayd*, or *Alamar*, [*El Hamar*] as some Historians call him, was a Native of the City of *Archona* in *Andalusia*, whereof he was Governor: That he was very rich, and highly esteem'd amongst the *Moors*: That he descended from the Race of the *Hagez*, that is to say, of certain People, who having join'd themselves with the natural *Arabs*, had embrac'd their Sect, and had pass'd over with them into *Spain*. This Historian further adds, That when the *Caliphs* lost their Authority in *Spain*, several of the principal Families of their Race remain'd there in Possession of Charges and Governments, and, in particular, of that of *Archona*, which they held for a long Time: That this Person, perceiving that upon the Declension of the Empire of the *Almohades*, every one seiz'd upon that which he had under his Command and made himself Sovereign thereof, was willing to do the like; and that

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in order to succeed in his Design, he feign'd to have dream'd, That a Swarm of Bees and a Flight of Birds came and pitch'd upon the Roof of his House: That after this he went to a *Morabite*, who was held in great Veneration by all the People, and who prognosticated that he should be King: That this News being spread throughout the City, the People, fond of Novelties, chose him for their Sovereign, in Hopes that he would re-unite all the *Moors*, as the Rumour went, and that he would be their Protector. The Inhabitants of *Jaen*, of *Guadix*, of *Baeza*, and of several other Places, follow'd their Example, and after them the People of *Granada*; insomuch that seeing himself absolute Master of so many Cities, he establish'd the Seat of his Empire in the last of those Places, under the Title of King *Mahomet Bou-Sayd*, descended from the Race of the *Alhamares*, Son of *Nassir*, Servant of God, and *Advancer* of the *Faith*.

Some other Historians pretend that he was a Native of *Barjona*, and that he had at first been a Shepherd: That he had quitted that mean Profession to take up that of a Soldier: That he associated himself with a Band of Robbers, who in Time made him their Captain: That having signaliz'd himself by some fortunate Exploits, he aspir'd to the winning of Honour by more lawful Means: That he enter'd himself into the Service of the King of *Cordoua*: And that, as he had a good Share of Sense, Courage, Boldness, and Experience, he work'd out his Way in a very little Time, and got the Command of that Prince's Army: That setting as great a Value upon himself as any of those who pretended to succeed *Ben-Hut*,



*Hut*, he caus'd himself to be proclaim'd King at *Barjana*, the Place of his Birth, of the Meanness of which he was nothing ashamed since he had repair'd that Defect by so exalted a Dignity. Those Historians relate a prodigious Number of surprizing Circumstances concerning this extraordinary Person, which we omit, as having little Relation to our present Subject, and besides carrying with them so little Probability, that there requires but a moderate Share of Criticism to doubt of their Reality. What may certainly be depended upon for Truth is, That he brought under his Obedience the important Cities of *Granada*, *Jaen*, *Baeza*, and *Guadix*, and that he made Choice of the First of those Places for the Metropolis of his new Kingdom, whereof he laid the Foundation upon the Ruins of all the other Sovereignties the *Moors* were possess'd of in *Spain*, and which he maintain'd in such Splendor and Magnificence, that at its very Beginning it less seem'd to be the Remnants of that famous Empire than the Union and Conjunction of all its Parts.

To an uncommon personal Bravery he join'd a vast Share of Prudence and Policy, and so compleat a Politeness, that he render'd his Subjects such accomplish'd Courtiers, that the bare Name of a *Granadine* gave an Idea of a Person of Valour, Sense, and a refin'd Taste. To fix himself the firmer upon the Throne, he engag'd the King of *Castile* in his Interest, by paying him a moderate annual Tribute, by which Means he render'd himself very formidable throughout *Spain*.

1240



## REVOLUTION LVI.

1273.



HIS Prince, during the whole Course of a long and profound Peace, happily govern'd his Dominions, and died this Year, perfectly ador'd by his Subjects. His Death was succeeded by a Civil War between *Mahomet-Mir* (rather *El Emir*) his eldest Son and *Tusouf* the younger, who both pretended to have a Right to the Throne. They had each of them their Partisans, and the State was for a long Time the Victim of their Contestations; but at last *Mahomet El Emir* carry'd it, and *Tusouf* retir'd to *Malaga*, where he set himself up as an independent Sovereign, which Quality he maintain'd till his Death, which happen'd soon after, not without great Suspicion of his being poison'd by his Brother's Contrivance, who could not, but with an Eye of Jealousy, behold him seated on a Throne. *Mahomet El Emir* govern'd the Kingdom of *Granada* with great Prudence, and died this Year, after a glorious Reign of Twenty Nine Years. After his Death, *Mahomet Aben Azar*, (rather *El Azar*) his eldest Son, was proclaim'd King with the general Consent of all the People.

1302.



REVOLUTION



## REVOLUTION LVII.



HE was a Prince endow'd with very great Qualifications, which at the Beginning of his Reign made him highly venerated by his Subjects. But a long Fit of Sickneſs having depriv'd him of his Sight, his Dominions were toſs'd and inflam'd with ſeveral Factions and Seditions which diſturb'd the Tranquillity of his Life. However, as long as Fortune favour'd him the Generality of his Subjects continued in their Duty. But *Don Sancho* the Fourth, King of *Caſtile*, having obtain'd ſome conſiderable Victories over his Generals, and already beginning to threaten the City of *Granada*, the Inhabitants of that Capital roſe up in Arms, and the Soldiers plainly proteſted, That they would no longer be under the Command of a blind Prince; that they would have a King who ſhould march at their Head, and who was capable of leading them where they might win Honour. Upon this Tumult, \* *Naffir*, the King's Brother, a Prince full of Fire and Ambition, preſented himſelf amidſt thoſe Mutineers, and was proclaim'd. He had no ſooner aſcended the Throne, but by an execrable Inhumanity he cauſ'd his Brother to

1309.

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\* In the French it is *Aben Nacar*, of which I know not what to make. See the next Note.



be apprehended; and the better to secure himself in his new Dignity he caus'd him to be put to Death.



## REVOLUTION LVIII.



AN Action of so detestable a Nature set his whole Family against him; but none shew'd themselves so zealous to revenge the tragical End of that virtuous Prince as did one *Ismael*, Son of *Farrachen*, Governor of *Malaga*, and of a Sister of *Mahomet* the Third. He openly rebell'd against this barbarous Tyrant, and declar'd aloud, That he would never suffer the Death of his Uncle and Sovereign to go unpunish'd. He was an enterprizing young Man, bold, and full of Courage. His Father, who did not want Ambition, back'd his Designs to the utmost of his Power; and he engag'd in his Interest a noble Moor nam'd *Ofmin*, of the Blood of the *Beni Merins*, who was in great Credit and Authority with the King of *Morocco*. Having well concerted his Measures, he assembled all his Forces, enter'd the Territories of *Granada* in an hostile Manner, was there join'd by all the Malecontents, from which the most peaceful States are never exempt, and advanc'd towards the Capital with a powerful Army. \* The Usurper, who had appear'd

1313.

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\* Tho' these Inconsistencies in the Moorish Proper Names occur but too frequently throughout this Work, so frequent that it would

appear'd so intrepid when he undertook to dethrone his Brother, did not defend the Throne with the same Ardour he had express'd in his Thirst after it. Far from attempting to make Head against his Enemy, he fled for Refuge to the *Alhambra*, the Royal Palace of the Kings of *Granada*, and which at that Time was a very strong Citadel, where he suffer'd himself to be besieg'd. After a few Days weak Resistance, he pusillanimously consented to yield up to *Ismael* the Crown he had usurp'd from his Brother, and contented himself with the Lordship of *Guadix*, whereof a Grant was made him, and where he ended his Days in an inglorious Obscurity.

L 3

*Ismael*

would be endless to take Notice of them all, I chuse this Place to give the Reader some Idea of the abusive Manner, as my Author calls it, of the Spaniards in their Writings; abusive indeed! What I call This Usurper is in the Original Mahomet. A few Lines above he is made King under the Name of Aben Nacar, which is, I believe, a Name never heard of before, as are many others which are to be met with in the Book, several of which I have taken the Liberty to alter in such as are real Arabian Names, tho' perhaps not right: Several others are in so barbarous a Garb, that I am often utterly at a Loss to make any Thing at all of them. He mounts the Throne, I say, by the Name of Aben Nacar, and was Brother to Mahomet Aben Azar and Son to Mahomet-Mir, who was the Son of Mahomet El Hamar, First King of Granada. Now Aben, Ibn, but rather Ben, is Son, and exactly answers our Welsh Manner of reckoning Pedigrees by Ap. Again, it very seldom, or never, happens that the Father and Son bear the same Name, nor do I believe Two Brothers of the same Name were ever heard of. So that Mahomet Ben Mahomet is a *rara Avis*, but here is Mahomet Ben Mahomet Ben Mahomet, and then another Mahomet, Brother to the last, which is, I'm sure, a Black Swan. Nor can it be meant any otherwise, because the next Mahomet, Son to *Ismael*, who succeeds his Father, is stil'd Mahomet the Fifth of the Name, and the next Mahomet is call'd the Sixth, and so on. Now the Blunder, I take it, lies thus: We, and all other Europeans, which is, indeed, no great

*Ismael* was endow'd with Virtues well worthy of the Throne, the Rights whereof he valiantly maintain'd for Eleven Years that he possess'd it. He was in continual War with the King of *Castile*, from whom he recover'd several Places which his Predecessors had lost. He committed Two great Over-sights which cost him his Life. The First was in disobliging *Osmin*, to whose Valour and Zeal he was indebted for his Crown. The Other was, his falling in Love with a *Christian* Slave who was Mistress to *Mahomet* Son of *Osmin*, and would have us'd his Regal Authority to force her from him. *Mahomet* having Notice of his Design, which little agreed with the Passion he

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*Great Wonder, confound several of these Names in One, and indifferently make a promiscuous Use of them, as the Spaniards most abusively do of the Letters B. and V. and, upon many Occasions, of the Letters G. J. and X. Mohammed, Mahammet, and Mahammood, which the Turks call Mahomet, Mehemet, and Mamoud, or Mahmut, are no less distinctly different Names than Edward, Edmund, and Edgar. The like are Hamet, Hamemet, (its Diminutive) Hameda, Hamooda, Hamdoon, and several others; and to meet with Mohammed Ben Mahammet, Mahammood Ben Mohammed, and such like, is so far from being a Novelty, that nothing is more common amongst those People, as it likewise is to find Three Brothers of those Three Names. So that I must take the Liberty to affirm, that notwithstanding it is often said in this Book, that the Arabian Authors have been consulted by several Persons in order to correct the Errors in the Spanish History, they have not been rightly consulted in this Point, since it is altogether impossible there should have been so many Mahometes in the Dynasty of the Kings of Granada, especially since several of them succeeded their Fathers and Grand-fathers. But this I submit to those who are at Leisure, or have the Convenience, to examine the Moorish Chronicles. I have observ'd some of the like Incongruities in the Names of several of the following Kings, of which I shall take no farther Notice, only to say, as I have often done before, rather so and so, according to the best of my Judgment, which is not always infallible.*



he had for the fair Captive, form'd a Conspiracy against the King, and prevail'd with his Father to assist him in his Vengeance. In order to bring their Project to bear, they stood in Need of a Person who had Ambition and Resolution enough to enter the Lists in Quality of a Pretender to the Throne. *Mahomet Ben El Hamar*, who descended from *Mahomet* the First, presented himself.



## REVOLUTION LIX.

**T**HE Conspiracy being form'd, there was nothing wanting but a favourable Opportunity to put their Designs in Execution. It was not long before one offer'd, the Conspirators laid hold of it, and *Ismael* was assassinated: But the *Alcayde-Mayor* of *Granada* immediately revenged his Master's Death by dispatching his Murderers. He conceal'd *Ismael's* Death, oblig'd *Mahomet Ben El Hamar* to flee, and caus'd *Mahomet*, *Ismael's* eldest Son, to be proclaim'd, notwithstanding he was but Twelve Years of Age. This Prince was the Fifth of that Name.

He pass'd his Minority quietly enough. When he took the Reins of the Government into his own Hands, he gain'd great Reputation. He freed his State from the Tribute which his Predecessors had been accusom'd to pay to the Kings of *Castile*, and enter'd into an Alliance with the King of *Morocco*, in order to humble the *Christians*. *Abdelmalec*, that Prince's

1333. Son, coming over to *Spain* at the Head of a numerous Army, and having assum'd the Quality of King of *Algezira*, King *Mahomet* look'd with a jealous Eye upon the Establishment of that young Prince, who being presumptive Heir to the Crown of *Morocco*, might one Day be in a Capacity to renew the Pretensions that Crown had to the Sovereignty over the *Moors* of *Spain*. This Apprehension determin'd him to come to an Accommodation with *Don Alphonso* the Eleventh, King of *Castile*, with whom he made an Alliance, oblig'd himself to pay him the same Tribute which his Predecessors had engag'd themselves to pay, and had even an Interview and Conference with him, at which he receiv'd a Thousand Tokens of Friendship from that Monarch, who loaded him with magnificent Presents, amongst which was a Royal Robe most sumptuously adorn'd with Gold and Jewels of great Value.



## REVOLUTION LX.



HIS Alliance, far from turning to his Advantage, lost him the Affection of his Subjects, who from that Moment look'd upon him as no other than a Slave to the *Christians*, and form'd a Conspiracy against him at his Return from *Don Alphonso's* Camp. One whose Name was *Rodoan*, (rather *Reduan*) *Alguazil-Mayor*, i. e. Grand Constable of the Realm, *Abraham* and *Abuabet* (rather *Ibrahim* and *Bou-Abeed*)

Sons

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Sons of the famous *Osmin*, were the Heads of the Conspirators. As the Plot was laid in the Field, and *Mahomet* had his whole Army there, it seem'd as if he had nothing to fear. Notwithstanding the Conspirators all at once drew their Sabres and assassinated him as he was going into his Tent. It is suppos'd, that being apparell'd in the above-mention'd Robe the King of *Castile* had presented him with, the Sight of that Garment farther'd the Effect of the Conspiracy.

After the Death of *Mahomet* the Fifth, Three Persons aspir'd to the Throne of *Granada*, to wit, *Farrachen* and *Tusouf* the King's Brothers, and *Mahomet Ben El Hamar* who had been engag'd in the late Conspiracy. The Diligence of *Reduan*, Grand Constable of the Realm carried it in *Tusouf*'s Favour. He hasten'd with great Expedition to *Granada* assembled all his Friends, to whom he gave an Account of the late King's tragical Death, and so well represented to them the Advantages they might expect if they declar'd for *Tusouf*, that this Prince was unanimously proclaim'd and acknowledg'd for Sovereign throughout the whole Kingdom, insomuch that *Mahomet Ben El Hamar* was forc'd to dissemble his Chagrin and to submit like the rest.







## REVOLUTION LXI.



**Y**USOUF was no sooner possess'd of the Throne but he enter'd into a strict Alliance with the King of *Morocco*, and continu'd the War against the *Christians* with great Success. He reign'd near Twenty One Years, and the People were inur'd to him, and not ill satisfy'd with his Administration, when *Mahomet Lagus* his Uncle, Son to *Ismael*, conspir'd against him, and drew into his Party the greatest Part of the Nobility, who alone could have put a Curb upon his immoderate Ambition, Having made himself secure on that Side, he assassinated his Nephew, and immediately caus'd himself to be proclaim'd King in his Stead.

As *Yusouf* had no Children, *Mahomet* was without any Difficulty acknowledg'd throughout the whole Realm, and, according to all Appearances, would have enjoy'd a happy Reign, had it not been for the false Step he made in contracting an Alliance with *Don Pedro*, surnam'd the *Cruel*, King of *Castile*, thro' the Means of which Alliance he flatter'd himself to confirm the Crown upon his Head. Had he but call'd to Mind the mortal Chagrin with which the *Moors* had beheld the Union *Mahomet* the Fifth had settled with *Don Alphonso* the Eleventh, *Don Pedro's* Father, there is Reason

son to believe that he would have been so cautious in his Conduct as not to have follow'd his Example.



## REVOLUTION LXII.



*Abomet Ben El Hamar*, who for Thirty Years had kept his Eye constantly fix'd upon the Throne, and who made it his whole Business indefatigably to search for some favourable Opportunity to ascend it, greedily catch'd at this that offer'd, and was very diligent in endeavouring to inculcate into the Minds of the Nobles and Populace the dangerous Consequences of the Alliance *Mahomet Lagus* had lately contracted with the King of *Castile*, infomuch that that Prince became odious to all his Subjects.

He had not reign'd full Six Years, when the Inhabitants of *Granada* rebell'd against him, protesting, that they would never obey a Prince who was a Friend, Ally, and Tributary to the *Christians* their irreconcilable Enemies. Upon this Revolt, *Lagus*, in a great Consternation, took Refuge in the *Alhambra*, where the ambitious *Mahomet Ben El Hamar* immediately besieg'd him. The Fear of falling into his Enemy's Hands caus'd him to take the Resolution of quitting that Citadel, which, upon *Lagus's* leaving it, instantly open'd its Gates to the Conquerors; and a few Moments after *Ben El Hamar* was proclaim'd

1360.

proclaim'd King by all the Inhabitants of that Capital.

Soon after this, all the Cities throughout the Realm acknowledg'd him for their Sovereign, except *Ronda*, whither the unfortunate *Lagus* had retir'd when he left *Granada*: But being inform'd that his Enemy intended to besiege him there, he quitted likewise that Place, and hasten'd to *Seville* where the King of *Castile*, *Don Pedro*, as his Ally, engag'd himself to re-establish him upon his Throne. In Effect, that Prince rais'd a powerful Army with that Intent, and accompany'd by *Lagus*, he conducted it into the Dominions of *Granada*, with a firm Resolution to attack *Ben El Hamar*.

This Prince finding himself engag'd in a Quarrel with so formidable an Enemy as was *Don Pedro*, made, on his Part, an Alliance with the King of *Aragon*, with whom he projected to raise *Don Enrique*, Count of *Traстамara*, *Don Pedro's* Bastard Brother, to the Throne of *Castile*. Notwithstanding this Monarch was detested by all his Subjects, Fortune did not prove favourable to the Projects of his Enemies; for *Ben El Hamar* was defeated in a bloody Battle. The Conqueror penetrated to the very Gates of *Granada*, the *Moors*, a People light and unconstant, grew weary of obeying an unfortunate King, and *Ben El Hamar's* Crown began to totter upon his Head.







## REVOLUTION LXIII.



HE was no Stranger to the Genius of his Nation, and knew enough of them to foresee that they would revolt from him upon the first Opportunity; so that finding himself upon the very Brink of the Precipice, he took the most surprizing Resolution that ever enter'd into any Prince's Imagination, which was to go and deliver himself up into the King of *Castile's* Hands, and to chuse him Arbiter of the Crown of *Granada*, with the Hopes that a Conduct so generous and full of Confidence would make an Impression upon the Heart of *Don Pedro*, who had no more Interest to maintain his Competitor upon the *Moorish* Throne than him. He propos'd his Design to his Council, and as every one foresaw a Revolution would certainly happen throughout the Kingdom of *Granada* not one went about to dissuade him from that Undertaking. Sad Fate of unfortunate Princes, who in their Disgraces cannot find even a faithful Friend to give them wholesome Advice!

Being resolutely bent to put his extravagant Project in Execution, he made Choice of Thirty Seven Noblemen of his Court, all Persons of the most distinguish'd Qualifications, to accompany

company him, besides whom he took likewise with him Four Hundred Horse and One Hundred Foot, with all his Treasure, foreseeing that Money might be of great Service to him in soliciting a Cause upon the gaining of which there depended nothing less than a Crown. The only Precaution he took to render the King of *Castile* favourable was to set at Liberty, without Ransom, *Don Garcia de Padilla*, Grand Master of the Order of *Calatrava*, who was amongst the Number of his Prisoners, and to load him with magnificent Presents. This Nobleman was the King's Brother-in-Law, and his Favourite, which Consideration determin'd *Ben El Hamar* to take that Precaution as the properest Means to engage the King of *Castile* in his Interest. When all was ready he went and presented himself before the Gates of *Baena*, where *Don Gutierre Gomez de Toledo* commanded, of whom he desir'd to be conducted to *Seville*, where the King of *Castile* then resided with his whole Court. *Don Gutierre* surpriz'd at a Novelty so little expected, having first acquainted *Don Pedro* therewith, convoy'd the King of *Granada*, his Thirty Seven Cavaliers, with his whole Retinue to the City of *Seville*.

*Don Pedro* was the fiercest, most untractable, and most imperious Prince that ever liv'd. An Aspect severe and forbidding froze the Blood in the very Veins of all who approach'd him. However he receiv'd the King of *Granada* with the Civility due to his Rank; but in the End he look'd upon this Event as a sure Means to indulge the Two Passions which were most predominant in him, to wit, Avarice and Cruelty. He imagin'd he should immortalize his

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his Name by spilling the Blood of a Sovereign Prince, and was sure of enriching himself with his Treasures, which were in Reality very considerable, but which Fame had render'd far greater.

Notwithstanding his natural Sternness, his Presence nothing daunted the King of *Granada*; who at his Approach humbled himself before him without the least Shew of an abject Submission. He represented to him with an Air of Majesty, "That he had not unjustly possess'd himself of the Throne which *Lagus* now sat upon, since he was descended in a direct Line from *Mahomet* the First, Founder of the Kingdom of *Granada*, which *Ismael* Brother to *Lagus* had usurp'd from *Mahomet* the Fourth; and that *Lagus* himself had obtain'd the Crown by no other Means than by assassinating his own Nephew." He added, "That he was so sensible of his Majesty's Justice and Generosity, that he had made no scruple of putting his Pretensions into his Hands: That he would blindly follow his Decision; and that in Case he should not judge him to be the rightful Owner of the Throne of *Granada*, he would quit his Claim without Murmuring, and would retire into *Africa* with a Pension suitable to the Rank he had held."

*Don Pedro* at first return'd the King of *Granada* a very gracious Answer; but being soon weary of dissembling, he gave Orders to *Don Martin Lopez de Cordova* to put both him, and the Thirty Seven Noblemen who were in his Company, under an Arrest, and to remove them from the Palace where they were lodg'd to the *Arsenal* in the *Jews* Quarter.

*Ben*



*Ben El Hamar* was not a little surpriz'd at so irregular and inhumane a Proceeding; but his Astonishment was far greater when he was imperiously summon'd, by a Message from the King of *Castile*, to justify himself for the Death of *Ismael*, whereof he was accus'd by *Lagus*. Greatly resenting a Summons so little conformable to the Rank he bore, he reply'd with a Tone and Air of Majesty, "That his Dignity and Degree render'd him subject to no Jurisdiction, and that crown'd Heads were not to give Account of their Actions to any but to GOD: That even supposing him not to be independent of all Earthly Power, the King of *Castile's* Parole of Honour requir'd that he should be treated in a different Manner." But that was all to no Purpose; he was sentenc'd to Death, as were likewise the Thirty Seven Noblemen who had accompany'd him.

The Place that was pitch'd upon for the Execution of this unjust and barbarous Sentence was *El Campo de la Tablada*, whither *Don Pedro*, with his whole Court, repair'd, follow'd by an incredible Multitude of People who ran in Swarms to behold so uncommon a Sight as the publick Execution of a Sovereign Monarch. The Thirty Seven Cavaliers were instantly beheaded by the common Executioner. After that was over, the unhappy King was brough forth, mounted, by Way of Derision, upon an Ass, and array'd in a Robe of Scarlet. In this ridiculous Equipage he appear'd as sedate and unconcern'd as if he had been sitting upon his Throne. *Don Pedro*, whose Surname of *Cruel* has with so much Reason been transmitted to Posterity, greedily thirsting  
after

after humane Blood, by a refin'd Excess of Cruelty, till then unheard of, would needs be himself this unfortunate Prince's Butcher. Sitting upon a Scaffold, he reproach'd him, in the bitterest Terms, with the Alliance he had contracted with the King of *Aragon*; and without allowing him Time to justify himself, he ran him into the Body with his Lance: But his Ferocity had so confus'd and blinded him that he did not dispatch him with that single Wound, it being not mortal. The King of *Granada*, feeling himself wounded, with Disdain and Majesty in his Countenance, spoke these Words, which will brand with eternal Infamy the Memory of that Blood-thirsty Prince, "*Pedro, Pedro*; What an unworthy Action art thou doing; the Triumph thou gaine'st is a very shameful one!" Any other but the bloody, shameless *Don Pedro*, would have blush'd at such a Reproach; but he, without shewing the least Concern, or making any Reply, made an End of sacrificing that Royal Victim to his Fury; and having beheld him fall down at his Feet all bath'd in his own Gore, he struck off his Head, and held it up as a Spectacle to that innumerable Concourse of People who could not look upon it without shuddering with Horror.

Thus, after a Manner of which hitherto few Examples are to be met with, fell an over credulous Prince. When the inhumane *Don Pedro* had compleated this Act of Injustice, he sent the Head of *Mahomet Ben El Hamar* to *Lagus*, who, overjoy'd at his having got rid of his Rival, hasten'd, with the utmost Speed, to the Gates of *Granada* with his Army, and was there receiv'd without any Manner of Op-

position. He preserv'd, during the whole Course of his Life, a perfect Acknowledgment of the singular Service the King of *Castile* had render'd him, at the Expence of his Honour and good Name, repugnant to all Justice and the Regard due to crown'd Heads. His Reign was  
 1379. quiet enough, and he died in Peace this Year in an extreme old Age.



## REVOLUTION LXIV.



**M**AHOMET the Eighth, his Son, succeeded him, and was a Prince of very great Merit. He was belov'd by his Subjects whom he govern'd as a good Sovereign ought to do; and was much dreaded by the *Christians*, with whom he was engag'd in long and tedious Wars, which he maintain'd with great Honour, notwithstanding he was not always  
 1392. fortunate. He left his Crown to his Son *Ynsouf* the Second, who nothing degenerated from the Virtues of his Father's. The latter Part of this Prince's Reign was disturb'd by the criminal Ambition of his Second Son *Mahomet Ben \* Balva*, who impatiently beheld his Father in Possession of the Throne. The King underwent great Perplexities and Trouble before he could bring him to Reason, but nevertheless

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\* This Balva perhaps was his Mother's Name, which is sometimes practis'd when the Mother is a remarkable Woman; otherwise it seems as strange as the rest.



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vertheless he at last effected it. But King *Tusouf* was no sooner dead, but the ambitious *Mahomet*, thirsting after the Crown, seiz'd it to the Prejudice of his elder Brother \* *Tusouf*, whom he caus'd to be shut up in a dark Dungeon, and enjoy'd the Fruits of his Usurpation for Twelve Years, at the Expiration whereof he died by a Dose of Poison given him upon Account of his Vices and the Irregularity of his Conduct. 1396; 1408;

After his Decease, his Brother *Tusouf* was brought out of his Prison and establish'd upon the Throne which of Right belong'd to him. As he was remov'd from a State of Life the wretchedest and most miserable in the World to the very Summit of Splendor and Dignity, he govern'd his Realm with great Lenity, Moderation, and Justice. Sincerely belov'd by all his Subjects, he strenuously apply'd himself, during the whole Course of his Life, to render their Condition compleatly happy. It were to be wish'd that a Reign so pacifick and so very grateful to the People had been of a long Continuance: But that good Prince died this Year, after having been possess'd of the Throne Fifteen Years. His Death was follow'd by lamentable Disorders and Seditions occasion'd by his Two Sons, † *Mahomet Ben Azar*, and *Mahomet*, surnam'd the *Little*. 1423;

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\* Another *Yusouf Ben Yusouf*!

† Here are Two *Mahomets* Brothers again. Besides I cannot conceive how the Son of *Yusouf* can be the Son of *Azar*, except that was his Father's Surname. Vide Pag. 148, &c. in the Note.



## REVOLUTION LXV.



1427.

PON their Father's Decease they both aspir'd to the Throne; but *Ben Azar* was so fortunate as to possess himself of it first, assisted by the Counsel of one of the noble Family of the *Beni Cerrages*. He made such bad Use of his Authority, that by his Injustice and Cruelties he drew upon himself the Hatred of all the People. They made a general Insurrection against him, drove him out of *Granada*, and proclaim'd *Mahomet* his Brother, surnam'd the *Little*, whom they look'd upon as better qualify'd to govern them than he. *Ben Azar* finding he had lost his Crown, sav'd himself by a speedy Flight, and with Five Hundred Followers got over to *Muley Abuferris* (rather *Bou Fers*) King of *Tunis*, with whom he was engag'd in a very strict Friendship. This Prince arm'd himself in order to restore him to his Throne, and *Don John* the Second, King of *Castile*, furnish'd him with Troops against his Brother. It was not however these foreign Succours which occasion'd *Mahomet's* Fall; but it was his own bad Conduct that precipitated him from the Throne. When he was proclaim'd King, the People flatter'd themselves that they should find in him a Prince endow'd with Wisdom, Justice, Moderation, and Equity; but their Conjectures prov'd fallacious. His Cruelty went to such a Length

Length that he soon became an Object of Horror and Execration to all the World. To say all in few Words, his Reign was so detestable, that it caus'd even that of his Brother to be regretted.



## REVOLUTION LXVI.

**B**EN AZAR, attentively observing all that was transacted, took the Advantage of the People's ill Disposition towards his Brother, and made his Appearance in the Heart of the Kingdom at the Head of a powerful Army. At his Approach all the Cities and Towns strove with Emulation which should first set open their Gates to receive him. *Mahomet* finding himself abandon'd even by those who had been most instrumental in advancing him to the Regal Dignity, retir'd into the *Alhambra*, where being besieg'd he made but a very pitiful Defence. *Ben Azar* forc'd that Citadel, and made both him and his Children Prisoners. He put the Father to Death, and contented himself with confining the Children in an Apartment in the *Alhambra*, where they were very carefully guarded to prevent them from making their Escapes.

The Disgrace which *Ben Azar* had undergone render'd him so circumspect, that he no sooner found himself re-establish'd on the Throne but he sedulously and wholly apply'd himself to comply with all the Duties of a Sovereign;



inſomuch that his Adminiſtration became agreeable to all his Subjects. However the Kingdom of *Granada* was beginning to draw near to its final Period, and was already bending towards its Ruin. One *Revolution* follow'd immediately upon the Neck of another, and from this Time forward every Thing in that Realm ſeem'd wavering and unſtable.



## REVOLUTION LXVII.

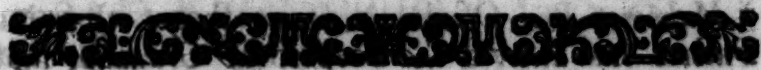
1431.



*Uſouf Ben El Hamar*, Grand-ſon to the King *Mabomet* the Seventh, weary of bearing no other Character than that of a ſimple Subject, took the Reſolution of making a Push to recover the Throne which had been poſſeſs'd by his Grand-father. *Don John* the Second, King of *Caſtile*, enter'd the Kingdom of *Granada* in his Favour, and did him very ſignal Services. He was proclaim'd King in his Camp, and ſome Time after he gain'd a great Victory over *Ben Azar*, upon which the *Granadines* open'd their City Gates and acknowledg'd him for their Sovereign.

*Ben Azar*, who, after his Defeat, had fled thither, upon his Competitor's Arrival in that Capital, ſhut himſelf up in the *Alhambra*; but not finding himſelf in a Capacity of making a Defence in that Place, he privately left it, and taking with him his Treafure and his Brother's Children, retir'd to *Malaga*. Many People condemn'd his Conduct; But whether it was

was that he had a Fore-sight of what would happen, or whether only Chance had a Hand in it, we cannot decide, but Time made it appear that he took the most prudent Method.



## REVOLUTION LXVIII.



ING *TUSOUF* the Third, who 1432.  
had been crown'd with such Acclamations of Joy and Applause by the Inhabitants of *Granada*, died Six Month after, and *Ben Azar* posted away with all possible Speed, follow'd by the Troops which had continu'd faithful to him, and presented himself before the Walls of *Granada*. The Inhabitants of that City, who in Reality bore him no Hatred, receiv'd him a Third Time for their Sovereign.



## REVOLUTION LXIX.



Prosperity almost always has prov'd fatal to those who from an inferior State of Life have been advanc'd to the Sovereign Dignity, and *Ben Azar* could not avoid suffering Shipwreck upon that Shoal. Perceiving that, in Spite of the Opposition he had so often met with, Fortune still rais'd him from his Falls,  
M 4 he

he imagin'd he had nothing more to fear. This fallacious Security caus'd him to lessen the Care and Circumspection he was before accustom'd to observe in having his Brother's Children strictly watch'd. The eldest of them, nam'd \* *Mahomet Ben Osmin*, did not forget that his Father had sway'd the Sceptre of *Granada*, and felt within himself not a Jot less Ambition than he; so that, inflam'd with the Thirst of Dominion, he caball'd with his Friends, and so artfully carry'd on his Designs, that he made himself Master of the Capital City, where finding a favourable Concurrence of all the People, he, in his Turn, ascended the Throne. 1443. He was surnam'd the *Lame*, as being really so. As to the rest he seem'd not unworthy of wearing the Crown. *Ben Azar*, overwhelm'd with Grief, died in Prison, at Sixty Years of Age, having had Experience of all the Misfortunes and all the Prosperity that could ever happen to a crown'd Head.

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\* How can this possibly be? But these Absurdities abound throughout the Whole. See Pag. 148, &c. in the Note.



REVOLUTION





## REVOLUTION LXX.



NDIBAR, who had been Constable of *Granada* under *Ben Azar*, perceiving the Danger to which the *Infante Ismael*, his Son, lay exposed, had got him safely conducted to *Montefrio*, the only Place that continu'd loyal to that Prince's Interest. This young Prince had Wit, Merit, and a large Share of Ambition. Spurr'd on by the Examples of the Kings his Predecessors to make an Attempt upon the Throne, he rais'd a powerful Army in the Kingdom, and implor'd the Assistance of *Don John* the Second, King of *Castile*, who had always vigorously supported the Interest of the King his Father. He had merited this Monarch's Protection by having serv'd for some Time in his Army, where he distinguish'd himself by his Valour. Being assur'd of the Assistance of the *Castilians*, he took upon him the Title of King of *Granada* at *Montefrio*. The *Moors* never acknowledg'd nor obey'd their Monarch's only when they were in Prosperity; to be unfortunate was a Crime in those Princes which their Subjects would never pardon. The People perceiving that Fortune began to smile upon *Ismael*, took Arms in his Favour. *Mahomet* was reduc'd to the melancholy Necessity of relinquishing the Throne, and of passing over to *Africa*, the only Resource that was left for the dethron'd Princes when they were

1450.

were not in a Condition to make Head against their Rivals; so that *Ismael* remain'd peaceable Possessor of the Crown of *Granada*.

- In the mean while the Fate of this Realm was drawing on apace, and the Time approach'd when the *Moors*, insensibly driven into a Corner of *Spain*, should be intirely expell'd that Country. *Ismael* died, and left
1470. Two Sons, *Muley Alboacen*, and *Muley Abi-Abdallah*. The eldest of these Princes succeeded his Father without any Difficulty or Opposition, and govern'd the State happily enough
1483. till this Year, that *Muley Boabdelin* his Son was proclaim'd King by the principal Grandees of the Realm: And as this Event was the Cause of the intire Downfal of the Kingdom of *Granada*, it is very necessary that we give an exact and particular Account thereof.



## REVOLUTION LXXI.



T was about this Time that the Marriage of *Don Ferdinand*, surnam'd the *Catholick*, with the *Infanta Doña Isabella* had re-united the Crowns of *Aragon* and *Castile*. As both those Sovereigns were endow'd with infinite Merit and had a generous Ambition and an ardent Zeal for the Exaltation of the true *Christian* Religion, they form'd no Designs but what were great and lofty, among which that of expelling the *Moors* from *Spain* and forcing them back again to *Africa* was that which

which lay nearest their Hearts. They were however oblig'd to suspend the Execution thereof for some Time by Reason of the War in which they were engag'd against the King of *Portugal*, which render'd *Muley Alboacen* so audacious that he was resolv'd to make his Advantage of the Perplexity their *Catholick* Majesties were involv'd in. As his Subjects, the Remnants of the several *Moorish* Sovereignities, in *Spain*, were of a warlike Genius, himself possess'd of great Quantities of all Sorts of Stores and Ammunitions, and receiv'd very powerful Recruits from the *Barbarians* of *Africa*, and more especially from the Mountains of *Gomere* because of the invincible Aversion those People had to the *Christians*, he committed dreadful Devastations throughout the whole Country they possess'd in *Andalusia* and the Kingdom of *Murcia*, which oblig'd their *Catholick* Majesties to make a Truce with the *Portuguese*. 1484.

In the mean Time *Muley Alboacen* understanding that the Fortrefs of *Zahara* was, by Reason of the late Truce, but very slenderly guarded, surpriz'd it one Night and took it by Scalada, kill'd the Governor and made the whole Garrison Prisoners. The Loss of this Place, and the *Moorish* Kings Inhumanity sensibly touch'd their *Catholick* Majesties; and seeing to what Danger they lay expos'd, they speedily provided for the Security of their Frontiers, and took a firm Resolution never to lay down their Arms till they had compleated the Conquest of a Kingdom, which was a perpetual Obstacle to their vast Designs, and had banish'd for ever from *Spain* a Sect which had reign'd there for so many Centuries to the great



great Shame of the *Christian* Princes. To forward their Enterprize they got Possession of the Town of *Albama*, which the *Moors* call'd the *Rampart* of *Granada*.

After the taking of *Albama*, the King *Don Ferdinand* pursu'd his Point, enter'd the *Plain* of *Granada* where he made a terrible Ravage, and leaving the Frontier well provided and fortify'd, he return'd victorious to *Cordoua* there to take fresh Measures against the *Moors*, whose Destruction he had sworn, and fortunately for him, it fell out very opportunely, that at the Juncture when a perfect Union amongst them was more necessary than ever, there arose a Division by a very singular Event.

*Muley Alboacen*, already grown old, blind, and full of Infirmities, caus'd the Throats of the Children he had by a former Venter to be cut, in order to leave the Throne to others he had by an Apostate *Christian* Woman after he had repudiated his Wife. This inhumane Execution was committed in a large Hall in the *Alhambra* call'd *El Quarto de los Leones*. But the Mother, notwithstanding her Divorce, had still Friends enough at Court to find Means to preserve her eldest Son, *Muley Boabdelin*, by causing him to be let down from the Top of the Tower of *Comara* with a Rope made of Womens Veils and other Apparel. From thence he was conducted to *Cadiz* by the *Beni-Cerrages*, who were discontented because the King had put to Death some of their Family under Pretext that one of them had carried away his Sister from the Court.

This last Action render'd him so odious to all the *Grandeess* of the Realm, that one Day as he was walking in those magnificent Gardens

dens which are call'd *Los Alichares*, they proclaim'd his Son whom they had caus'd to be brought from *Cadiz*, and shut the Gates of the *Alhambra* against the old King to prevent him from entering that Palace again. Finding himself expos'd to the Fury of a mutinous People, who reproach'd him with the Death of his Children, and who were encourag'd and supported by the Presence of a young Prince upon whose Head they had just before set the Crown, he had no other Party to chuse but that of making a speedy Escape, and of hastening to shut himself up in the Fortrefs of *Mondexar*, where by the Interposition of his Brother *Muley Abi-Abdallah*, he found himself in a Condition to make War upon his Son; for notwithstanding the People of *Granada* had declar'd against him, in Favour of *Muley Baabdelin*, the other principal Cities of the Kingdom vigorously stood up for the old King.

Had the *Moors* seriously reflected upon their real Interest, they might easily have perceiv'd that they were running a full Gallop to their utter Destruction, and that nothing more nearly concern'd them than to cultivate a perfect good Understanding between the Father and the Son; but by an unaccountable, incomprehensible Blindness, their Division was grown to such a Head that no humane Means was capable of re-uniting them for their common Welfare, and the Preservation of the State.

While all this pass'd, the Marquis of *Cadiz*, accompany'd with a great Number of the *Christian* Nobility, made an Incurfion into the Neighbourhood of *Malaga*; but the *Moors* having got together in a Body, defeated him,  
kill'd

kill'd Three of his Brothers, Two of his Nephews, many of his other Relations and Domesticks, took Prisoners the Count of *Cifuentes* and *Don Pedro de Silva* his Brother, with several other Noblemen of Distinction, insomuch that the greatest Part of that Body of *Christians* were either slain or made Captives.

The new King of *Granada* grew so proud of this Victory, that spur'd on by the Impetuosity of his youthful Warmth, he resolv'd to enter *Andalusia* in Person, flattering himself that he should find it wholly defenceless after the late Defeat of the *Christian* Troops. He got together, to this Purpose, in great Haste, all the Forces he was able to raise, and taking with him the Governor of *Loxa* and a good Number of the Nobility, he attack'd *Lucena*, a Town depending upon the Government of *Los Donceles*. Some of the *Arabian* Authors report, That as the King of *Granada* came out at the Gate call'd *La Puerta de Elvira*, the Lance, or Pole of his Standard happening to break against the Arch of that Gate, the Diviners told him, that Accident was an unlucky Omen, and advis'd him to turn back and desist from his Enterprize: They add, That being arriv'd at the River *Veyra*, a Fox pass'd thro' all his Troops and came very near his Person, without any ones being able to kill that Creature; which was look'd upon as so evil a Presage, that several of the principal Noblemen were just ready to return to their Homes, saying that this Enterprize would certainly prove fatal to them. But the King was fully determin'd not to give it over, and advanc'd, making a terrible Devastation in the Neighbourhood of *Lucena*.

Upon



Upon the News of these Disorders, the Count *de Cabra*, who was then at *Baena*, with the utmost Diligence got together the greatest Number of Troops he could possibly raise, and directed his March towards those Quarters in order to join the *Alcayde de los Donceles*. The *Moorish* King being inform'd of his Approach, hastily rais'd the Siege of *Lucena*, which Place he had invested, and re-took the Way to *Loxa* with abundance of Captives, and a very considerable Booty. Notwithstanding he was infinitely superior to the *Christians* in the Number of his Troops, the Count *de Cabra* fail'd not to pursue him; and having surpriz'd him passing a River about a League and an half from *Lucena*, he fiercely attack'd him, in which Engagement he lost the Governor *Alatar*, (rather *El Attar*) and the greatest Part of the Nobility who accompany'd him, together with Nine Standards; and to compleat his Disgrace, he was himself taken Prisoner, which very much contributed to the Loss of the whole Kingdom; for the King *Don Ferdinand* taking his Advantage of this Juncture, ravag'd all the Neighbourhood of *Granada*, destroy'd with Fire and Sword those of *Illora* and *Montefrio*, and return'd victorious to *Cordoua*.

Their *Catholick* Majesties did not find that this Event prov'd so advantageous to their Interest as in outward Appearance it might seem to promise, by Reason that the Imprisonment of *Muley Boabdelin* would infallibly re-unite the whole Strength of that Kingdom in the Person of *Muley Alboacen*, which was what they most of all apprehended: So that, far from designing to detain that Prince a Prisoner,

ner, they wanted only a favourable Pretext to set him at Liberty and to send him back to his own Dominions without its being perceiv'd that the *Christians* had any Advantage in their so doing. At the very Juncture when their *Catholick* Majesties would most willingly have parted with a good Sum of their own Money to have been rid of him, he sent to them to propose, that in Case they would let him go he would declare himself their Tributary. Their Majesties not only accepted his Proposal, but with his Liberty bestow'd upon him many magnificent Presents, and promised to assist him against his Father.

However their *Catholick* Majesties found themselves deceiv'd in their Conjectures, and their Hopes all prov'd abortive. *Boabdelin*, at his Return to *Granada*, met with a very bad Reception. The shameful Treaty he had so lately sign'd was look'd upon as an unpardonable Crime. The People unanimously mutiny'd: Even those who had set him upon the Throne loudly declar'd against him in Favour of his Uncle *Abi-Abdallah*, who stood up for the old King. Fifteen Governors of Places under the Obedience of the Crown of *Granada*, with a considerable Number of Forces, march'd out to ravage the Frontiers of the *Christian* States under Pretext, that no Captive Prince can have it in his Power to oblige his Subjects to stand to any Agreement he makes. *Luis Fernandez Portocarrero*, Lord of *Palma*, hearing of the Disorders the *Moors* were committing, went out against them with the Militia of his Neighbourhood, and took from them Fifteen Standards, and made a great Number of them Prisoners, amongst whom were many Persons  
of

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of high Distinction; and, to compleat their Disgrace, the Marquis of Cadiz surpriz'd them in their Retreat, kill'd a considerable Number, took many Prisoners, got the Mastery of *Zabara* by Scalado, cut the Governor and the whole Garrison to Pieces, and re-peopled the Town with *Christians*.

These Disgraces, far from being sufficient to induce the *Granadines* to approve of the Treaty which *Boabdelin* had made with their *Catholick* Majesties, only serv'd to exasperate them the more against him. They loaded him with innumerable Reproaches, and gave him the odious and insulting Epithet of \* *Unlucky*; insomuch that not being safe in the City he retir'd into the *Alhambra*, wherein being instantly invested, he fled almost alone to *Almeria*. He was no sooner gone but the People immediately re-call'd his Father, and acknowledg'd him for their Sovereign.

*Muley Alboacen* being re-seated on the Throne, made it his whole Application to sustain the furious War their *Catholick* Majesties were making against him, in the which Fortune was so adverse to him that in one Campaign he lost Three very important Places. This Year the *Christians*, when they had first made themselves Masters of Twelve Fortresses, attack'd *Ronda*, a Place of the greatest Importance, which surrender'd after several Assaults, tho' its natural Situation seem'd to render it impregnable, and was besides provided with a

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\* I presume the Arabick Word must have been *Moushoum*, almost answerable to our Unfortunate Jack; or *Widg El Mou-shoum*, that is, Ominous or Unlucky Face. In the French it is *Malencontreux*.



strong Garrison. Ten Places more follow'd the Example of *Ronda*, and surrender'd upon very advantageous Conditions; for their *Catholick* Majesties being willing to let the Inhabitants of those Towns partake of the Liberty and Sweetness of their Government, engag'd themselves to leave them in the peaceable Enjoyment of all their Goods, moveable and immoveable, with the free Exercise of their Religion, and to permit all their Causes to be try'd by Judges of their own Nation, according to their Laws and Customs: Besides all this, they had the free Liberty of buying and selling in all Parts of *Spain*, upon Condition, that they should not be admitted into the chief Cities, nor suffer'd to remain therein after One Hour before Sun-set, without an express License either from the King himself, or some Governor. It was likewise permitted to all those who were not inclin'd to remain in the Country, to sell off their whole Effects and to pass over into *Africa* with their Wives and Children.

Soon after this, the Nineteen Places which belong to the Lordship of the Mountains of *Areval*, Ten others which compose that of *Gausin*, and the Twelve of the District of *Villa Longa* surrender'd upon the same Conditions, together with the Towns of *Caçarabonella*, *Marbella*, *Monte-Mayor*, *Cortos*, *Alaricartes*, and Ten others of less Consequence. The King *Don Ferdinand* as he was going to take a View of the City of *Malaga*, demolish'd divers Forts and put the Governors thereof into the Places which had surrender'd, after which he retir'd to *Cordoua* to pass the Winter in that City.

In

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In the mean while *Muley Boabdelin*, otherwise call'd \* *Mahomet* the Thirteenth, and surnam'd the *Unlucky*, who, as we have already observ'd, had retir'd to *Almeria*, still maintain'd his Ground there, and, by Means of the powerful Assistance he receiv'd from their *Catholick* Majesties, made a cruel War upon his Father. On the other Hand, the *Moors* of *Granada*, perceiving that the old King was blind and very infirm, wholly incapable of governing the State in such boisterous Times when it was involv'd in so many Troubles, set up his Brother *Abi-Abdallah*, whom they surnam'd the *Brave*, and declar'd his Nephew *Boabdelin* unworthy of sitting on the Throne by Reason of the Alliance he had contracted with the *Christians*. When this was done they shut up the old King, with all his Family, in a Castle, which occasion'd the utter Destruction of the Kingdom; for the new King desirous of reigning alone, had agreed with some *Alfaquies*, or Religious Men of *Almeria* to give him Admittance, upon a certain Night, into that Town, in order either to seize or assassinate his Nephew, who having Notice of the Conspiracy, made his Escape the same Night, and speeding away as fast as his Horse could carry him, took Refuge in the *Christian* Territories.

*Abi-Abdallah* having made himself Master of the Citadel, ran immediately to the Palace,

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\* In the Spanish Chronicles he is call'd *Mahomet Boabdelin*, and *El Rey Chico*, or the Little King, not only upon Account of his Youth when he was first proclaim'd, but because he was small of Stature.

imagining he should have met with his Nephew there; but finding he had made his Escape, he kill'd his younger Brother, whom *Boabdelin* had caus'd to be brought thither to save him from his Father's Inhumanity, who would have taken away his Life as he had serv'd the rest. Besides this, *Abi-Abdallah* cut the Throats of all those of the contrary Faction he could lay Hands on, which Proceeding so inrag'd the young King who was fled, that from that Moment he would never give Ear to any Proposals towards an Accommodation, notwithstanding his Uncle made him several very reasonable Offers.

Some Time after, the old King died, and *Abi-Abdallah*, getting together all the Forces of his Jurisdiction, began to renew the War with the *Christians*, and gain'd some Advantages over them: For while *Don Ferdinand* was marching against the City of *Moclin*, the *Moors* defeated the Count *de Cabra*, who was posted in the Neighbourhood of that Place, and kill'd his Brother, which oblig'd *Don Ferdinand* to direct his Course another Way to attack the Fortresses of *Cambil* and *Areval*, which serv'd the *Moors* as Ramparts against the City of *Jaen*. He attack'd those Places with such Fury that they were forc'd to surrender. About the same Time a *Chevalier* of the Order of *Alcantara*, who was posted upon the Frontier towards *Alhama*, took *Salea* by Scalado, and the King, when he had given the necessary Orders for the fortifying those Places, went to *Toledo*.

1486. This Year he besieg'd *Loxa* with a powerful Army, and took it by Composition after a long Siege. After the Reduction of this City, the  
small



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small Towns of that Neighbourhood all surrend'rd, and the *Moors* who inhabited them retir'd to *Granada*; so that the *Catholick* King plac'd Governors and Troops there, and return'd victorious to *Cordona*.

The *Moors* in the mean while were engag'd in cruel Wars against each other. *Boabdelin* kept himself in *Velez el Blanco*, and did his Uncle all the Harm he possibly could think of. *Abi-Abdallab* being Master of *Granada*, and of the greatest Part of the Cities in the Kingdom, was the most powerful, and by Consequence the Progress he made was, beyond Comparison, much more considerable than that of his Nephew, who as his Uncle's Strength daily increas'd had the Mortification of beholding his own apparently diminish. This brought him to a Resolution rather to perish by an honourable Death than to live to see himself depriv'd of his Crown. To this Purpose, he went by unfrequented Ways, cut off and interrupted by craggy Rocks and deep Precipices, till he arriv'd near that Part of the City of *Granada* call'd the *Albayzin*, where leaving the Troops he had remaining, he approach'd the Gate with only Five Hundred Men, and knew so well by his Insinuations how to gain the *Corps de Guard* that they first let in himself, and afterwards all his Followers. He pass'd the whole Night in going from House to House to sollicite those of his Party to stand by him, and brought them to declare in his Favour.

The next Morning, the News of his being in the *Albayzin* being spread throughout the whole City, his Uncle went to attack him: And as he had had Time enough to make In-

trenchments, he made such a Resistance that it cost his Enemies abundance of Lives: He likewise lost a considerable Number of his own Men; insomuch that finding himself over-powered by Multitudes, he retir'd into the Fort, where his Uncle instantly caus'd him to be invested. They fought for Fifty Days with an Obstinacy that came little short of Prodigy. However the Nephew perceiving that he could not possibly hold out or subsist much longer for Want of Men and Provisions, implor'd the Succour of their *Catholick* Majesties, who immediately gave Orders to *Don Fadrique Henriquez*, Governor of the Frontier, to march to his Assistance. The Uncle having Intelligence thereof, us'd his utmost Endeavours to oppose and prevent the Designs of *Don Fadrique*; but notwithstanding all his Efforts, he could not hinder him from throwing Five Hundred Men into the *Albayzin*.

While the Uncle and the Nephew were rendering each other to Pieces, the *Catholick* King *Don Ferdinand* took his Advantage of that Opportunity to lay Siege to *Velez-Malaga*, which so alarm'd the *Alfaquies*, or Religious Men, that they went all in a Body to the Castle to represent to *Abi-Abdallah*, " That while he  
 " was contending with his Nephew for the  
 " Crown, he was exposing it as a Prey to  
 " the *Christians*, who, taking their Advantage  
 " from those Divisions and Factions, would not  
 " fail of getting it into their Possession: That  
 " if they once became Masters of *Velez-Ma-*  
 " *laga*, it would not be long before they got  
 " *Malaga* itself, and all the Places of that Neigh-  
 " bourhood: That his Nephew was shut up  
 " in the *Albayzin*, from whence he kept him  
 " at

“ at Bay with the Troops of their inveterate  
 “ Enemies the *Christians*: That at such a de-  
 “ plorable Juncture as this, it was his Duty  
 “ to take Compassion upon the State, and to  
 “ make either Peace or a Truce, and even to  
 “ relinquish his own Right in order to gain  
 “ Time to repulse the common Enemy, not  
 “ only of the Nation in particular, but of the  
 “ *Mussulman* Belief in general.”

These Demonstrations made so great an Im-  
 pression upon the Mind of *Abi-Abdallah*, that  
 he declar'd he was ready to come to an Ac-  
 commodation with his Nephew, and commis-  
 sion'd several of them to go to *Boabdelin* from  
 him to let him know his Intentions, and to  
 make Proposals for Peace. But that Prince  
 could never be prevail'd with to give Ear to  
 the pressing Instances of those Deputies, nor  
 to put the least Confidence in his Uncle by  
 Reason of his late Treachery, and the Cruelty  
 he had us'd to his Partisans. It little avail'd  
 the Uncle to send him Messages, with Pro-  
 mises of surrendering the Crown into his Hands,  
 since he still obstinately persisted in the Re-  
 solution he had taken, either of losing his Life  
 or of dethroning him by Force of Arms.

In the mean while the *Catholick* King *Don*  
*Ferdinand* was vigorously pushing on the Siege  
 of *Velez-Malaga*, and was just ready to make  
 himself Master of the Place, when *Abi-Abdal-*  
*lah*, overcome by the importunate Intreaties  
 of the *Alfaquies*, determin'd to go and attack  
 him with a Body of Horse and Twenty Thou-  
 sand Foot, hoping that, marching by unfrequen-  
 ted Roads, he might be able to surprize him  
 unawares in his Camp. But his *Catholick* Ma-  
 jesty having Notice of his March, went out



of his Intrenchments in Battle Array, attack'd, defeated, and oblig'd him to seek his Safety by a precipitate Flight to *Almuñecar*, where not thinking himself secure, he went to *Almeria*, and from thence to *Gnadix*.

Upon the News of his Defeat the Inhabitants of *Granada* declar'd for his Nephew, and deliver'd up into his Possession the *Alhambra* and all the other strong Holds. He immediately caus'd the Throats of Four of the chief *Grandees* to be cut, who had always been his most zealous Opposers, sent an Express to the *Catholick* King to acquaint him with what pass'd, and to demand Quarter for all the Inhabitants of *Granada*, and for those of all the Places under his Obedience, intreating him to issue out his Orders to the Governors of the Frontier that they should not offer them any Manner of Insult: And to make his Requests the more effectual, he confirm'd the Promise he had privately made him, to wit, That in Case he could take the Cities of *Almeria*, *Baça*, and *Gnadix*, to which last his Enemy was retir'd, he would, Thirty Days after, deliver up *Granada*, upon Condition that he granted him some Places of Retreat for his Subsistence. *Don Ferdinand* comply'd with whatever he had desir'd, and even sent Notice to the Cities which held out for *Abi-Abdallah*, declaring, That if, in Six Months after that, they did not acknowledge *Boabdelin* for their Sovereign, he would himself attack and conquer them, and, when reduc'd, would annex them to the Crown of *Castile*.

The Inhabitants of *Velez-Malaga*, no longer able to stand their Ground against the fierce Assaults the *Christians* made upon them, surrender'd,

surrender'd, and his *Catholick* Majesty took Possession of the Place on the Twenty Seventh Day of *April*. *Ronda*, *Marbella*, and Forty other small Towns follow'd the Example of *Velez-Malaga*; after which *Don Ferdinand* laid Siege to *Malaga* itself, which for some Time made a vigorous Defence, but at last capitulated upon very honourable Conditions. The *Catholick* King made a splendid Entry into that City, accompany'd by the Queen his Consort.

The Loss of that Place drew after it the Reduction of all the Towns in that Neighbourhood which had not surrender'd before. Their *Catholick* Majesties plac'd Governors and Garrisons in all the Fortresses; and *Malaga*, after having for Seven Hundred and Seventy Years groan'd under the infamous Yoke of the *Infidels*, was again peopled with *Christians*.

All the Western Part of the Kingdom of *Granada* being conquer'd, the *Catholick* King attack'd it on the East Side, where are situated the Cities of *Vera*, *Mochacar*, *Huescar*, *Almeria*, *Baga*, and *Guadix*, all which were under the Obedience of *Abi-Abdallah*; and as that Prince durst not shew his Face in the Field, *Vera*, *Mochacar*, and Forty Two large Towns surrender'd upon the same Conditions with those before-mention'd. After this *Don Ferdinand* went to take a View of *Almeria*, and turning towards *Baga*, he made himself Master of some small Places he met with in his Way, had an Engagement with the Enemy, and got some Advantage over them; but he unfortunately there lost *Don Philip de Aragon*, Natural Son to the *Infante Don Carlos*, and Grand Master of the Military Order of *Montesa*. *Huescar*.

1488.

*Isaac* surrender'd at the King's Approach, as did likewise several small Places in that Neighbourhood, in which *Don Ferdinand* plac'd Garrisons, and went to pass the Winter at *Toledo*, during which he apply'd himself to regulate the Government of the Realm, and at the Return of the Spring, both he and the Queen went to *Jaen*, from whence they sent Orders to assemble all their Forces at *Ubeda*, *Baeza*, and in the Lordship of *Caçorla*. When all was ready, the King march'd against *Baça*, and in his Passage took *Cullar*, a Place of Consideration in those Days. After this he made himself Master of some Redoubts which might have annoy'd him, and laid Siege to the City. It made a Defence for Six Months and an Half, but at length it surrender'd, and the King enter'd it on the Fourth of *December*. The Fall of this Place was follow'd by the Reduction of all those of the *Val de Purchena*, of the Plain of *Almansora*, of *Almeria*, and of all its Neighbourhood, as likewise of the Mountain of *Filabris*.

*Abi-Abdallah*, who during the Siege of *Baça* had still kept close within the Walls of *Guadix*, finding himself altogether incapable of making any longer Resistance against the *Catholick* King, capitulated with that Monarch, and not only surrender'd that City, but likewise caus'd all the Towns of *Zeneta*, with those of the Mountains which lie extended from thence as far as *Granada*, and several others in the Valley of *Locrin*, to be deliver'd up to him, chusing rather to see them in the Hands of the *Christians* than in the Possession of his Nephew. Their *Catholick* Majesties, on their Side, assign'd him certain Towns for his Maintenance,



tenance, and afterwards took him with them to the War, as they likewise did the Governor of *Baga*: But *Abi-Abdallah* soon growing tir'd and uneasy, he begg'd Leave to retire, saying, That he could never prevail with himself to live in a private State in a Place where he had sway'd a Scepter.

There now remaining nothing to conquer but *Granada* and some small Towns near it, their Catholick Majesties sent Word to King *Boabdelin*, That he should deliver that Capital, with all the Fortresses belonging thereunto, into the Hands of the Count *de Tendilla*, according to the Conditions had been agreed upon, that is, upon Consideration of a certain Sum of Money, and all the Places of the \**Taa* of *Andarax* for his Maintenance. But this Prince having repented of what he had promis'd, made Answer, "That *Granada* was a great City, extremely populous, and that besides its own Inhabitants, abundance of *Moors* from other Parts had retir'd thither, and who were not all in the same Disposition as himself, for which Reason it was not in his Power to perform his Promise."

Upon this Evasion, their Catholick Majesties repeated their Instances; but *Boabdelin*, far from regarding them, renew'd the War by stirring up to a Revolt the Inhabitants of the *Alpujarras*, and those of the Mountains and Valley of *Locrin*, who went to join him, and got Possession of the Fortress of *Padul*, Don Fer-

dinand

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\* This Word is Arabick, and signifies Submission, Subjection, and the like; but here it means District. *Taa't Allah* is God's Obedience.

1490.

*dinand* not being able to relieve it, nor to attempt any other Military Expedition all the remaining Part of that Campaign. But the ensuing Year he set out at the Beginning of the Spring, and enter'd into the Plain of *Granada*, accompany'd by *Abi-Abdallah* and the Governor of *Baça*, where he committed terrible Disorders, and carry'd his Depredations to the very Walls of the City; but all this was not transacted without Blows: For the Inhabitants of that Capital having made several Sal- lies, in one of which the Marquis *de Villena's* Brother, with divers other Noblemen were kill'd, and himself wounded in the Arm, the King was oblig'd to return to *Cordona*.

He had scarce turn'd his Back, but the King of *Granada* laid Siege to the Fortrefs of *Albendin*, situated about a League and an Half from the City; and notwithstanding it was exceeding strong by its natural Situation, and was provided with a numerous Garrison, he batter'd it so furiously with Warlike Engines and Machines, that the Governor, perceiving they had undermin'd the Wall, and were going to set Fire to the Supporters, surrender'd. The Place was instantly laid level with the Ground, and the Governor, with his Garrison, instead of Death as they expected, came off with Captivity.

Upon the News of this Victory, all the *Moors* of the Mountains and Valley of the *Alpujaras* rose up in Arms against the Governors of the Forts, and the King of *Granada* went to attack *Marchena* and *Bulodny*, Places situated between *Almeria* and *Guadix*, and finding them but indifferently garrison'd, carry'd them by Assault. The Inhabitants of *Baça*, *Gua-*

*di*;

*dix*, and *Almeria* enter'd into a secret Correspondence with this Prince, and were just ready to rise against the Governors of these respective Citadels, when *Don Ferdinand* hasten'd thither in great Diligence, and getting into *Guadix*, he there commanded that all the *Moors* who dwelt within the wall'd Cities should go and inhabit the Villages upon Pain of Imprisonment and Confiscation of all their Goods: He likewise gave Permission to all who were desirous of leaving *Spain* to sell off what they had, and of retiring to *Africa*. Having by these Means stifled that Rebellion and choak'd the Seeds of a new War, he return'd to *Cordoua*, resolving next Year to lay Siege to *Granada*.

To this Purpose *Don Ferdinand* left *Cordoua* in the Month of *April*, and entering the Plain of *Granada*, sent the Marquis *de Villena* with Three Thousand Horse and Ten Thousand Foot to destroy all the Towns in the Valley of *Locrin*, which had revolted; and for Fear lest the Mountaineers should pour down upon that Detachment, he follow'd at a small Distance with his whole Army. The Marquis having executed his Commission, return'd to *Padul* with great Booty and many Prisoners. Immediately after his Arrival there, the King order'd him to pass on farther in order to destroy some Places which belong'd to the Enemy before the Siege of *Granada* began.

King *Boabdelin* being inform'd of the Progress the *Christians* were making, dispatch'd away a considerable Body of Infantry to possess themselves of the Passes of *Tablata* and *Anxaron* by which *Don Ferdinand* was to pass in entering the Mountain: But that Monarch attack'd the hollow Way of *Tablata* by the Bridge,

1491.



Bridge, and by another very difficult Passage which is about a League farther up, and beating the Enemy from the Top of the Mountain, got by, and came to that of *Anxaron*, where he stay'd till every Place in the Valley, the *Taa*, or District, of *Orgira*, and several others thereabouts, were intirely ruin'd.

When he had miserably ravag'd the whole Country, he re-conducted his Army to *Padul*, and from thence advancing into the Plain of *Granada*, he encamp'd at Two Leagues Distance from the City in a Place which the *Spaniards* call *Los Ojos de Huescar*, fully determin'd not to remove from thence till the Place was surrender'd.

The more to illustrate the Conquest of *Granada*, and to enhance the Fame of that Enterprize, the Queen, with the Prince *Don John*, and the *Infanta Doña Juana*, repair'd to the Camp; and as this Siege is one of the most memorable ones that was ever heard of, and is to be the Conclusion of this Book, we think ourselves oblig'd to deliver it in all its Circumstances.

The \*Siege began on the Twenty Sixth of April, 1491, and lasted till the Second of January, the Year following. Its Beginning seem'd to presage something fatal, by Reason that the Queen's Tent, thro' the Negligence of one of her Chamber-Maids, having taken Fire, was reduc'd to Ashes in a Moment, and several Persons perish'd in the Flames. This Accident occasion'd a strange Confusion and Disorder

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\* Can it be properly call'd a Siege at Two Leagues Distance?

order throughout the Camp, but which, however, was not perceiv'd by the Enemy, believing it, perhaps, to have been a Fire of Rejoicing made by the Army upon Account of the Arrival of the Queen, the Prince, and the *Infanta*.

Be that as it will, the King, to prevent the like Inconveniencies for the future, caused the Soldiers to set up Barracks, or Huts made of Earth, cover'd over with Tiles, all in regular Order, divided into Streets like a Town; and each Troop having taken Care to fortify their Quarter, of a Camp he made a City surrounded with Walls, and flank'd with Towers, with a large Ditch, and Four principal Streets which answer'd the Four Gates, every Troop giving its own Name to the Quarters they had fortify'd. By this Means the Camp was not only secur'd from all Danger of Fire, but likewise in a Condition to resist the Attacks of the Enemy. The building this City, which was call'd *Santa Fe*, wholly dishearten'd the *Moors*, as perceiving thereby, that the *Christians* were resolutely bent not to raise the Siege till *Granada* was deliver'd up; and as Provisions began to grow scarce, and there was no Prospect of Relief, the principal Inhabitants, together with the Magistrates and *Alfaquies*, sent Deputies to *Don Ferdinand* to intreat him to receive them upon Composition.

Upon this Proposal the *Catholick King* nam'd Deputies on his Part to settle the Articles of the Capitulation, and granted a Truce of Seventy Days, upon Condition that *Boabdellin* should give his Son, with a certain Number of the chief Nobility and Citizens as Hostages, who were all sent to Places of Security.

When

When the Conditions of the Capitulation had been disputed upon from the Fifth of *October*, when the Truce began, till the Twenty Fifth of *November*, it was agreed, That at the End of Forty Days, the King of *Granada*, with all his *Grandeess*, *Alfaquies*, *Cadies*, *Mufties*, *Alguazils*, *Sages*, *Officers*, and *Gentlemen*, with all the *Inhabitants* of the City, the *Albayzin*, and *Suburbs*, should faithfully and without Fraud or Deceit, deliver into the Possession of their *Catholick* Majesties, or to those who were nam'd on their Behalf, the Citadel of the *Alhambra*, and all the other Fortresses, with their Towers and Gates, as likewise those of the Quarter call'd the *Albayzin*, and of the *Suburbs*; after which all the *Inhabitants* would voluntarily submit themselves to their *Catholick* Majesties, as good and faithful *Vassals*. That, for the better Security of the Treaty, the Day before the Delivery of the Fortresses, the *Alguazil*, *Tusouf Ben Comicha*, with Five Hundred other Persons of the Sons and Brothers of the principal *Inhabitants* of the City and *Albayzin*, should remain as Hostages for Ten Days in the Power of the *Catholick* King, during which Interval the *Christians* should take Possession of the Fortresses, and should place therein *Garrisons* and *Ammunition*.

Their *Catholick* Majesties, with the Prince *Don John* their Son, engag'd in a Promise, as well for themselves as for their Successors, That upon the Performance of these Articles, they would receive them for their Subjects and *Vassals*: That they would take them all under their Protection, from the King to the meanest and most inconsiderable *Inhabitant* of the City, *Suburbs*, and neighbouring Places, with



without offering to lay Hand upon their Effects or Estates, whether moveable or immoveable, or suffering the least Wrong or Insult to be done unto them: That on the contrary, they should be treated in all Respects according to the exactest Justice and Equity, after the same Manner as were the rest of the Vassals and Subjects of their other States and Dominions. Besides all this, their *Catholick* Majesties made them several Grants concerning their Estates, their Persons, and their Rights and Privileges, promising to provide Shipping for those who were desirous of retiring to *Africa*, with Permission to dispose of whatever they possess'd in *Spain*.

The Day upon which the King of *Granada* was to deliver up the *Alhambra*, and the other Fortresses, being arriv'd, Cardinal *Ximenes*, accompany'd by a great Number of the Nobility, went to take Possession thereof in the King's Name; and because one of the Conditions of the Treaty was, that they should not march thro' the Streets of the City, for Fear lest the Communication of the *Christians* with the *Moors* might occasion some Disorder, there was a new Way made to pass to the *Alhambra*.

The Cardinal had no sooner set out with the Troops and Artillery which follow'd him, but their *Catholick* Majesties advanc'd thro' the Plain in Battle Array till they came within Half a League of the City, where they halted. The Cardinal being come near the Prisons, met the King of *Granada*, who descended to the Foot of the *Alhambra*, and having spoke to him something in particular, the King answer'd him, That he might, in God's Name,

take Possession of the Palace, and the Fortresses, for their *Catholick* Majesties, to whom the Almighty had given the Possession thereof as a Reward for their Merit, and as a Punishment upon the *Moors* for their Sins. After this he went, by the same Way, to pay his Respects to their Majesties.

The *Christians* enter'd peaceably into the *Alhambra*, and took Possession of all the Gates and Towers. At the same Time they took *Los Torres Vermejos*, or the *Red Towers*, and the Gate which leads into the Street of the *Gomeres*; (call'd in *Spanish*, *La Calle de los Gomeles*) after which, the Cardinal caus'd the Silver Cross which was carry'd before him, and the Standard Royal, to be set up upon the Tower call'd *De la Campana*, from whence might be seen the Place where the *Catholick* King stood at the Head of his Army. Immediately the Cardinal caus'd the Signal to be given, and the Queen, who was waiting for it with a pious Impatience, fell upon her Knees, and with her Face prostrate on the Ground, she render'd Thanks to the Lord of Hosts for the Victory He had given her; and afterwards the *Te Deum* was sung by those who belong'd to her Chappel.

At the same Time, his *Catholick* Majesty, accompany'd by the prime Nobility of his Court, advanc'd towards the City, and in the Way met the King of *Granada* who would have dismounted to pay him his Respects, but *Don Ferdinand* would by no Means suffer it; however he could not prevent that Prince from kissing his Right Hand as he deliver'd the Keys of the Citadel, which the *Catholick* King instantly put into the Hands of the Count de  
Tendilla,

Book IV. *Revolutions in Spain.* 195

*Tendilla*, who was the First Governor both of that and of all the other Fortresses. His Majesty then went to the *Alhambra* by the same Way the Cardinal had gone, and the King of *Granada* took the Road to the *Alpujarras*, which had, by the Treaty, been assign'd him by their *Catholick* Majesties for his Residence.

It is reported, That when he arriv'd at a certain Place near *Padul*, from whence *Granada* is to be seen for the last Time, he made a Stop to look upon that City; and that upon the Sight of such a great Number of sumptuous Palaces wherewith it is embellish'd, he utter'd a profound Sigh, and cry'd out, *Omnipotent God!* and then began to shed Tears. His Mother observing his Weakness, said to him, *Thou do'st well to weep like a Woman for what thou wert not capable of defending like a Man.* From that Time the *Moors* always call'd that Place *The Prospect of Omnipotent God!*\*

Their *Catholick* Majesties having enter'd into the City, the *Moors* went to offer them their Submission, expressing great Satisfaction for what had happen'd; and as all the Articles of the Capitulation were inviolably observ'd, and not the least Injury offer'd them, all the Places in the Mountains of the *Alpujarras*, and others which had held out till then, immediately surrender'd.

Thus ended the Empire of the *Moors* in *Spain*, after having made a shining Figure in the World for Seven Hundred Seventy Eight Years. The King of *Granada* retir'd to the Lands which had been assign'd him by their *Catholick* Majesties, where he liv'd peaceably enough.

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\* *The Arabick Words are Fidy Allah hu acbar.*



However, the *Moors*, from Time to Time, made certain Motions which tended to a general Revolt; insomuch that *Philip \*III.* a vigilant and very suspicious Prince, fearing lest they might occasion some Trouble in *Andalusia*, oblig'd them to quit the Country in 1610, and to retire to *Africa*. This Expulsion render'd that Province almost desert for many Years, nor can it be said to be well peopled to this Day.

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\* This I should have taken for a Mistake of the Press, was there not the like Blunder in Book XII. where speaking of *Philip II.* amongst others of the glorious Exploits of that politick Prince, my Author introduces the Expulsion of the *Moors*; when few who have any Knowledge in History can be ignorant that he surviv'd the Loss of his Invincible Armada no more than Ten Years, dying on the 13th of September 1598, whereas the *Moors* were expell'd Spain by his Son and Successor *Philip III.* in the Years 1609, 1610.

*The End of the Fourth BOOK.*



T H E



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OF  
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*The Crown of Navarre passes to the House of Foix. The History of the Difference which arose between Dona Catarina Grand-daughter to Gaston I. De Foix, and the Infante Don John Son to the same Prince. The States pass Sentence in Favour of Dona Catarina. She marries John D'Albret, who suffers himself to be despoil'd of his Estate by the Duke of Alva without striking one Stroke. Henry D'Albret his Son recovers it by the Bravery of Asparaut. The Rashness of that General makes him lose it again very soon after. Since that Time the Upper Navarre has remain'd annex'd to the Crown of Castile. The false Pretexts of the Spaniards for having possess'd themselves thereof. Fruitless Instances from the Court of France to recover it. Charles V. and Philip II. injoin their Successors to restore it.*



BOOK



## BOOK V.



*The REVOLUTIONS in the Kingdom of Navarre. From 733, to 1521, &c. when it was united to the Crown of Spain.*



According to the Chronological Regularity which we have purpos'd to observe, with all possible Exactness, throughout the whole Course of this Work, *Navarre* is, next to *Asturia*, the most ancient Monarchy of all those contain'd in the *Peninsula of Spain*, and, by Consequence, we ought to have given an Account of the Revolutions which have happen'd in that Kingdom before we treated of those of



of *Leon* and *Castile*: But considering that had we follow'd the Order of Chronology too close upon Account of settling the several *Dynasties*, we must unavoidably have been oblig'd to interrupt and confound the Connexion, which was, almost from the Beginning, between the Kingdoms of *Asturia*, *Leon*, and *Castile*, we concluded it to be necessary to prosecute that Subject to its proper Period in the Third Book, and to reserve the Affairs of *Navarre* intire for this Place, in order to avoid the Confusion which otherwise would, infallibly, have been found in our Narration.

We shall first of all say something, tho' by mere Conjecture, concerning certain Events and Transactions which are suppos'd to have happen'd in *Navarre*, since they are not positively treated of by any of the Historians; after which we shall fix the genuine *Epocha* of the Kings who have reign'd in that Realm, in doing which we shall lie under the indispensable Necessity of deviating from the Sentiments and Opinions of several Authors, who, how celebrated soever they may be in the World, have ran into most wretched Errors and Mistakes purely to procure to their Nation a false Honour, which is the fatal Cause of all the Disorder that has been introduced into the *Spanish* History, and which made the learned Father *Moret*, in his INVESTIGATIONS of *Navarre*, say, *That he could, by no Means, comprehend, from whence Mariana, and so many other Historiographers have taken such Numbers of unaccountable Fictions and Falsities.* What follows is, to the best of our Judgment, the Foundation of all those fabulous Inventions.

*Abdelmalec,*

*Abdelmalec*, Governor and Captain General of *Spain* in the Reign of the Caliph \* *Hassem Ben Abdelmalec*, being determin'd to make an Irruption into *France* at the Head of a formidable Army to attempt the Conquest of *Aquitain*, the *Christian* Refugees, who had taken Sanctuary in some of the Northern and unconquer'd Parts of *Spain*, imagin'd that this Storm was going to break upon them; and upon that Surmise they rose up in Arms, possessing themselves of all the Passes of the Mountains, in every one of which they posted Parties of Men to prevent the *Infidels* from penetrating into their Country if they had any such Design. Their Numbers were so inconsiderable, that *Abdelmalec* laugh'd in his Sleeve, and secretly rejoic'd at their Rashness; flattering himself, that he had no more to do than to advance with his Army and to destroy them all with little or no Difficulty: But the Event prov'd very contrary to his Calculation; For having march'd as far as that Place where the *Pyrenees* are divided from the other Chain of Mountains that runs towards the South and West Parts of *Spain*; the *Christians*, who had, before his Arrival, posted themselves upon the Eminences, sent such Showers of Arrows, Darts, and Stones amongst his Troops, that his Army was intirely routed, and those who could escape were reduc'd to the melancholy Necessity

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\* My Author, from the Spanish corrupt Manner of writing these Oriental Names, calls him *Hizen*. He was the Fourth Son of the Caliph *Abdelmalec*, the Fifth Caliph of the Race of *Beni Ommiah*, or the *Omniades*. He succeeded his Brother *Yezid the Second*, reign'd Nineteen Years and Nine Months, and died of a *Quinzey*, A. D. 747.

sity of betaking themselves to a disorderly Flight, and return'd back to *Cordoua* in a very wretched Condition.

This Victory which the *Christians* obtain'd over the *Moors* in the Manner we have intimated, has given Room to the Historians to build upon it, every one according to his own Sentiments. *Peter de Marca* attributes the whole Honour of the Day to a small Number of *Christians* who had taken Refuge in the *Pyrenean Mountains*, and were assisted by some *French Troops*: But what *French Troops* could there be in the Passage of the *Pyrenean Mountains* which border upon *Gallia Narbonensis*, when all that Province was in the Possession of the *Moors*? The *Aragonian Writers*, and, more particularly, *Father Abarca*, pretend, that the Mountaineers of *Aragon* were the People who had the Honour of performing that vigorous Action; grounding their Opinions upon what *Roderic de Toledo* says, That the *Mahometan Army*, after its Defeat, return'd thro' the Province of *Celtiberia*. But, besides that the *Aragonian Mountains* were never the Passage by which the *Moors* made their Incursions into *France*, by Reason of their extraordinary Height, and the sharp craggy Rocks and Precipices of which they are full, and which render them impracticable, *Isidor de Badajos*, who is the first Author that ever made any Mention of that Circumstance, says nothing at all either of *Aragon* or its Mountaineers, neither does he mention one Syllable of the *Moors* returning thro' *Celtiberia*; and even if he had mention'd it, that would be no Manner of convincing Proof that the *Moors* were defeated by the People of *Aragon*, forasmuch as the Province of

*Rioja,*



*Rioja*, which, for a long Time, had been under the Government of the *Navarrois*, is situated in *Celtiberia*: So that, according to all Appearances, it follows, That *Abdelmalec* intended to pass into *France* thro' *Navarre*; That the Inhabitants of that Country apprehending that that *Barbarian* had a Design upon them, took to their Arms, and waited his coming upon their Eminences, which border'd upon the Vallies that divide the Kingdom of *Navarre* from the Province of *Biscay*; and that after the Defeat of his Army, he took the Way thro' *Celtiberia*, a-cross that Plain which runs along the Banks of the River *Ebro*, between *Navarre*, *Old-Castile*, and *Aragon*; there not being, according to the Observations of the exactest Geographers, any other Passage by which he could possibly return thro' *Celtiberia*.



## REVOLUTION I.



FIVE Years after this Transaction, 738.  
*Aucupa*, or *Ocha*, who succeeded *Abdelmalec* in the Government of *Spain*, endeavouring to make an Irruption into *Asturia*, was routed by *Don Favila*, and forc'd to retire into *Navarre*, where he found Means to make himself Master of *Pamplona*, and putting the Garrison to the Sword, he plac'd another of *Mahometans* in their Stead, who made the Inhabitants of that Capital groan under their inglorious Yoke during the Space of Twelve Years; 750.

at

at the End of which these unhappy People, no longer able to endure the tyrannical Oppression of those *Infidels*, rose up in Arms, cut the Throats of their Oppressors, and freed themselves from the miserable Bondage under which they had so long labour'd.



## REVOLUTION II.



**Y**USOUF, Governor of Spain, under \* *Abou'l Abbas-Saffah*, the First Caliph of (the Family of *Beni Abbas*, or) the *Abbasides*, sent *Zul-tisman*, rather *Suliman*, into *Navarre* to recover *Pamplona* and to chastize those Rebels: But the Inhabitants of the City had taken such Care to provide for his Reception, that finding themselves in a Condition to confront him, they went out to meet him, and attack'd his Troops with such Vigour and undaunted Resolution, that they were miserably defeated, himself slain at the first Shock, and all the *Infidels* who were so happy as to escape the destructive Swords of the *Christians*, betook them-

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\* This Caliph, whom Abbot Vairac miscalls *Abdala-Saphe*, was the First Caliph of the House of *Beni-Abbas*, (*Beni'l-Abbas*, or the *Abbasides*, as they are vulgarly call'd) began his Reign, according to *D'Herbelot*, in 754, and died in 758 of the Small-Pox; so that, in Point of Chronology, either the One or the Other is out by 5 Years. The Caliphate continu'd in this Family 524 Years under the successive Reigns of Thirty Seven Princes.

themselves to a precipitate Flight, and took Sanctuary in *Saragossa*.

During the Space of Five Years the *Moors* 755.  
were intirely incapacitated from attempting any Thing to the Prejudice of *Navarre*: But this Year, *Tusouf*, after he had recover'd *Saragossa* from *El Hamer*, who had made himself Master of that City, plac'd a good Garrison into it, and sent away the rest of his Army into *Navarre* under the Conduct of *Suliman-Icabab*; imagining, that if he could recover *Pamplona*, his Affairs would be in such a Posture that he might easily put in Execution the vast Projects he had in his Head. But *Don Alphonso* the First, surnam'd the *Catholick*, King of *Oviedo*, foreseeing, that if the *Moors* should once get firm Footing, so as to fortify themselves in *Navarre*, they would be always ready at Hand to make IncurSIONS into his Territories whenever they thought fit, he join'd his own Forces to the *Navarrois* Troops, march'd against *Suliman*, gave him a notable Overthrow, and forc'd him to retire to *Saragossa* in great Disorder.

From this Circumstance *Dr. Ferreras* concludes, That the King *Don Alphonso*, and his Predecessors, were Lords of the Mountains of *Navarre*; but this his Opinion being founded merely upon some Conjectures which he has taken from a certain Passage in the Chronicle of *Don Alphonso* the Great, where that Prince only says, That the Provinces of *Alaba*, *Biscay*, *Alaon*, *Ayaon*, *Pamplona*, *Dege*, and *Berroza* were always under the Government of the *Christians*, we cannot from thence aver, that these Mountains belong'd to the Kings of *Asturia*, or were, in any Manner, dependent upon



759. upon them. Nay it is even more natural for us to believe, that the People of *Asturia* and those of *Navarre* were subject to different Masters; for this Year, the Inhabitants of the Province of *Alaba*, and the *Navarrois*, took up Arms against King *Froila*, and having been defeated by that Prince, they call'd in the *Moors* to assist them against him, and ignominiously continu'd under the Yoke of those *Barbarians* till *Châlemagne*, King of *France*, deliver'd them from that shameful Bondage, Nineteen Years after this Transaction. And as that great Monarch's Retreat into *France* has given a Handle to several *Spanish* Writers, and more particularly *Mariana*, to report many Fables concerning the pretended Battle of *Roncevaux* or *Roncesvalles*, it is of no small Importance to explain that Point of History, by relating the genuine Fact.



### REVOLUTION III.

778.



*Harlemagne*, the most powerful, the bravest, and the most ambitious Monarch in all *Europe*, perceiving that *Spain* was become a Prey to the Tyranny and the Avarice of the *Barbarians*, and that the *Christians* were too feeble to put a Stop to the Impetuosity of so rapid a Torrent, took the generous Resolution of marching with his own Forces to oppose the Progress of those *Infidels*. To this Intent he rais'd Two very formidable Armies, the

the One compos'd of *Lombards, Burgundians, Provençals,* and *Goths of Gallia Narbonnensis*; the Other wholly consist'd of the Inhabitants of the Western Provinces of *France*, and of the Two *Aquitains*. The first of these Armies he sent into *Catalonia* under the Command of his Generals, and he himself enter'd into *Navarre* at the Head of the Other. He laid Siege to *Pamplona*, and, in Spite of the vigorous Resistance made by the *Moors*, soon became Master of that Capital.

*Be'l-Attar*, Governor of *Huesca*, had no sooner got Intelligence that *Charlemagne* was enter'd into *Spain*, but he went to meet him, and submitted himself, together with all the Places he had under his Command, to that Monarch's Obedience, after which he accompanied him to *Saragossa*; there he was likewise receiv'd and acknowledg'd as Sovereign of that great City by *Ben El Arbi* the Governor.

The Army which march'd into *Catalonia*, having reduc'd the important Cities of *Girona* and *Barcelona* to submit to the Obedience of *Charlemagne*, went and join'd that Monarch at *Saragossa*; so that, by the Conjunction of Two such numerous Bodies of Troops he easily got Possession of all that vast Extent of Country that lies between the *Pyrenean Mountains* and the River *Ebro*, from the *Mediterranean Coast* in the East of *Spain* to the utmost Bounds of the Kingdom of *Navarre*.

*Marmol*, in the Nineteenth Chapter of the Second Book of his History of *Africa*, says, That, after the Reduction of *Pamplona*, King *Abderhaman* advanc'd towards the Army of *Charlemagne* to obstruct his Progress, and that coming up with him near the River *Ebro*, a bloody

Battle was fought in which Thirty Thousand *Moors* were kill'd. But as not one Historian worth Notice or Credit makes the least Mention of this pretended Battle, nor is it to be found any where at large except in Archbishop *Turpin's* Romance, we reject it as false and supposititious. What we are inclin'd to believe of the Matter is, That *Abderhaman* judging, that the *French* Troops would not continue much longer in *Spain*, waited till *Charlemagne* should depart with the Gros of his Army, that he might then go and attack *Ben El Arbi* and *Be'l Attar*, against whom he was highly incens'd. He had soon the Satisfaction of seeing that Monarch leave *Spain* and return to *France*; but before his Departure, he had the Mortification to hear that he had dismantled *Pamplona* that the Place might remain without Fortifications and wholly defenceless, and that, in Case the *Moors* should retake it they might not reap the same Advantages by it as they had formerly done.

After *Pamplona* had been thus render'd incapable of making any Defence, the *French* Army march'd to *Roncesvalles*, a Place situated upon the Top of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, the Avenues whereof are very straight and exceeding difficult. When almost the whole Army had got thro' those narrow Passes without meeting with any Opposition, a considerable Number of *Vascons*, who lay in Ambuscade upon the Tops of those Eminences, attack'd their Rear-Guard, with the Intent rather of carrying off the Booty *Charlemagne* had got in his *Spanish* Expedition than with any View of annoying his Army. As they had a perfect Knowledge of every Foot of Ground there-



thereabouts, they took such Measures, and executed them so effectually, that they had cut off every Soul of that whole Body of Troops which brought up the Rear, before *Charlemagne*, who, at the Head of the Van-Guard, had quite pass'd the Mountain, could put himself in a Condition to turn back to their Assistance with the Gros of his Army; insomuch, that when he understood that those Brigands, after this Action, had betook themselves to a precipitate Retreat, and had made off with their Booty into the scarce practicable Parts of the highest and most woody Mountains, he continu'd his March without offering to pursue them to Places of such difficult Access.

This is the Battle concerning which the *Spaniards* make so great a Noise: Even so far they go in their Rhodomantadoes, that *Mariana*, with Abundance of Gravity, maintains, That all the *Peers* of *France* fell that Day, and from thence takes Occasion to extol the Valour of the *Navarrois* to the very Skies, and to assure us, That *Bernardo del Carpio*, *Don Alphonso* the Chast, and the King of *Navarre* distinguish'd themselves very much in that Action. But Father *Moret*, (an Author, beyond all Comparifon, exacter and more sincere than himself) *Peter* of *Mantona*, and Dr. *Ferreras* take all he says upon that Subject for no other than Fables, and Old Women's Stories, and ingenuously avow, that it is uncertain whether the People who carry'd off that Booty were *Vascons*, *Navarrois*, or *French*. They positively deny that there ever was any such Person as *Bernardo del Carpio* in the World, and neither will they allow that *Don Alphonso* the Chast was King at that Time, or that

there was ever any such Thing heard of as *Navarre* being a Kingdom in those Days.



## REVOLUTION IV.

806.



HE *Vascons* of *Aquitain*, a restless and turbulent People, having revolted from their Obedience to their Sovereign *Lewis* the *Mild*, and taken up Arms in open Rebellion against him, that Monarch put himself at the Head of a powerful Army in order to reduce them to Reason; which when he had effected, he pass'd into *Navarre*, where he no sooner arriv'd, but the Inhabitants of *Pamplona*, who had likewise revolted, went to meet him, in order to make their Submission and to swear Allegiance to him. Finding himself absolute Master of all *Navarre*, he divided the whole Province into Counties, like *Catalonia*, plac'd a Governor in every such Division, and then took the Way towards *France*; and that, in passing the *Pyrenean* Mountains, he might not be expos'd to the Danger of such a Disgrace as his Father *Charlemagne* had met withal, he carry'd with him, as Hostages, the Wives and Children of all the noblest and most distinguish'd Families in the Country, by which Means he made sure of the Fidelity of the *Navarrois*.

REVOLUTION



## REVOLUTION V.



UT all this politick Precaution 810.  
was not sufficient to prevent those  
People from revolting again Four  
Years after; insomuch that he was  
oblig'd to return to *Pamplona* to cha-  
stise their Rebellion; nor did he leave that  
Province till he had taken all necessary Mea-  
sures to put it out of their Power to attempt  
any new Insurrections; but his Precautions  
prov'd all fruitless and to no Purpose: They  
were of a Genius too prone to Disobedience  
to continue long quiet.



## REVOLUTION VI.



COUNT SIGUVIN, Governor of  
the *Vascons* of *Aquitain*, was so ex-  
cessively haughty and imperious in  
his Government, that his Sove-  
raign was oblig'd to send to re-  
call him, and to inflict severe Pe-  
nalties upon those who had declar'd themselves  
to be in his Interest, and had been Accom-  
plices with him in his exorbitant Proceedings,  
that they might learn, for the future, to have  
a due Respect to the supreme Authority. The  
P 3 Count,



- Count, having made his Escape, fled for Sanctuary to the *Vascons* of *Navarre*, who not only gave him a favourable Reception, but likewise espous'd his Interest, rose up in Arms, and, in Conjunction with him, committed
819. many Disorders and Outrages. These Disturbances continu'd till the Time that *Pepin*, King of *Aquitain*, destroy'd the greatest Part of the *Aquitain Vascons*, and prosecuted the rest with such Vigour, that they pass'd over to the *Vascons* of *Navarre*, where they rais'd and fomented such dangerous Combustions, that the Emperor was forc'd to send thither the Counts *Eblo* and *Aznar* to put a Stop to the
824. Progress of those Rebels. Whether they did it out of Policy or Remorse we cannot determine, but it is very certain, that they laid down their Arms upon the first Appearance of the Royal Troops, and the Two Counts, as soon as they had pacify'd that Sedition and had set all Things to rights, took the Way to return to *Aquitain*. When the perfidious *Vascons* heard of their Departure, they immediately dispatch'd Messengers to the *Moorish* General, who commanded upon the Frontiers, to require his Assistance, and without Loss of Time went and posted themselves with the Auxiliary *Moors*, in Ambuscade upon the Eminences which over-look the Straights through which the King's Troops must of Necessity pass, and surprizing them when they least dream'd of their being so near, fell upon them and made a terrible Slaughter. The Two Counts were taken Prisoners: *Eblo* was sent to King *Abderhaman* by the *Moorish* General, but *Aznar* found Means to get away, by the Con-  
vance.

vance of the *Aquitain Vascons* into whose Hands he had fallen.



## REVOLUTION VII.

**S** EVEN Years after this Transaction, 831.  
*Aznar*, upon some Dissatisfaction he had conceiv'd at the Treatment he met with from *Pepin* King of *Aquitain*, retir'd to the *Vascons* of *Navarre*, and upon their proffering to take up Arms in his Favour, he revolted, and put himself at their Head: And as *France*, at that Time, was miserably distracted and rent in Pieces with intestine Commotions, he maintain'd himself in his Rebellion, nor was it in King *Pepin's* Power to prevent it. This was the first Time that *Navarre* was ever wholly free from being subject to *France*, or was govern'd by Counts independent of any other superior Power; but notwithstanding that, they did not offer to assume the Title of Kings, tho' *Pagi*, *Piscina* and *Moret* have been pleas'd to say, That *Navarre* became a Kingdom in the Year 734. However it was, *Aznar* remain'd peaceable Possessor of that Province, with the Title of Count, till this Year, when 836.  
 he died a most horrible Death. His Brother *Sancho* succeeded him, and enjoy'd the Sovereignty of *Navarre* as long as he liv'd, in Spite of King *Pepin's* Opposition, who us'd all imaginable Endeavours to dispossess him, but nei-

ther he nor King *Charles the Bald* were ever able to effect it.

853. After *Don Sancho's* Decease, the Government devolv'd to *Don Garcia* upon whom several Historians bestow the Title of King, grounded upon the bare Authority of a Letter that *St. Eulogius* wrote to *Wilefnd* Bishop of *Pamplona*, wherein he says, That at that Time, which was about 844, or 845, the *Navarrois* were subject to a *Christian* Prince. The Manner after which they tell us that Prince attain'd to the Regal Dignity is as follows. They say, That in a certain Rock, call'd *Peña de Oruel*, near the City of *Jaca*, there liv'd a pious Hermit, who together with Four others his Companions, led a most holy and exemplary Life. At the Death of this devout Anchoret, Three Hundred, or more, of the Nobility and Gentry of the Country assembled themselves to be present at the Funeral, to honour the Memory of that venerable Defunct; and having began a Discourse concerning the Calamities of *Spain*, after some Deliberation they determin'd to elect a Chief among themselves, and to endeavour to preserve the poor Remnants of their Liberty and Religion within the narrow Confines of those Mountains. They add, That, after a long Debate, the Choice fell upon *Don Garcia Ximenes*, the noblest Personage of the whole Assembly, who was of a *French* Extraction, Count of *Bigorra*, and who was possess'd of several wealthy Manours in the Province of *Biscay*: That he was no sooner advanc'd to the Sovereignty, but he signaliz'd himself by an infinite Number of glorious Exploits against the *Moors*: That as, one Day, he was going to give Battle to his Enemies,
- he



he beheld the Resemblance of an Escutcheon in the Sky upon which there appear'd a Red Cross over a spreading Oak, which Device he took for the Blazon or Arms of his new Kingdom, to which he gave the Name of *Sobrarbere*, or *Sobrarbe*, signifying, upon, or over a Tree.

The greatest Part of the *Spanish* Writers, and more especially those of *Navarre*, are so prepossess'd with this Opinion, which has made so deep an Impression upon their Minds, that they deliver all we have intimated above for most authentick Matter of Fact, insomuch that it would be taken for little less than Heresy, in Point of History, to call in Question the Veracity thereof. But those who value themselves upon their real Knowledge of the Establishment of the *Spanish* Dynasties, look upon all these Stories as mere Fictions, which those Authors have forg'd purely to enhance the Glory of their Nation. Those, (says the learned Dr. *Ferreras*, in the Fourth Tome of his *Critical History*,) who have pretended to establish the Beginning of the Kingdom of *Navarre* in the preceding Century, soon after the Moorish Invasion, or even some Time farther on, are very much in the wrong, and suffer themselves to be guided by their Passions, seeing there is no faithful Monument to authorize their Assertions, and the Chronicles and Authorities they quote are all supposititious or sophisticated, as *Oyenardo* and *Abarca* plainly demonstrate, who affirm, That the Memoirs of the Monastery of *Leyra* were collected and digested by a young Monk, without any Manner of Order or Regularity, and solely with the Design of procuring some Advantage to the

*the said Monastery, and, in many Respects, wholly repugnant to Truth.*

The most antient, most venerable, and most Credit-worthy Monument extant, and which more immediately approaches to those Times, is the *Chronicle of Don Alphonso the Great*, which Monarch, writing the Reign of *Don Ordoño*, his Father, says, That *Moufa*, having rebell'd against *Mahomet King of Cordoua*, made himself Master of *Toledo*, penetrated into *France*, where he made Prisoners Two great Captains of the highest Rank and Distinction in that Nation, carry'd away immense Riches, and defeated Two *Mahometan* Generals in a pitch'd Battle, which puff'd him up to such a Degree of Pride, that he had the Insolence to assume the Title of *The Third King in Spain*; *Tantum in superbiâ intumuit, ut se, a suis, tertium Regem in Hispania appellari praecepit*; from whence it naturally follows, that, in those Days, no other Kings were acknowledg'd or known in *Spain* except *Don Ordoño*, King of the *Christians*, and *Mahomet*, King of *Cordoua*, and consequently, those who affirm that *Navarre* was an establish'd Monarchy at that Time are under a gross Mistake, or at least do all they can to draw others into an Error by Suppositions which have no Manner of Foundation. For, in short, if *Don Garcia* had been actually King of *Navarre*, why should the same *Don Alphonso*, (speaking of the Marriage and Death of that Lord,) only say, That, in that memorable Battle which was fought between *Don Ordoño*, King of *Leon*, and the Usurper *Moufa*, *Don Garcia*, Son-in-Law to the said *Moufa*, lost his Life? Had he been a King, would

would *Don Alphonso* have given him no other than the simple Title of *Moufa's Son-in-Law*?

*Don Garcia*, his Son, succeeded him, and 857.  
 was indisputably the First King of *Navarre*. This Prince made himself formidable by his great Valour, accompany'd in all his Enterprizes with an extraordinary Prudence, and knew perfectly well how to manage every Advantage. He reign'd Twenty Three Years, and died in this Year. His Successor was 880.  
*Don Fortuno*. The Historians report very little that is remarkable concerning this Prince, or, at least, that has any Affinity to our present Purpose; so that we shall content ourselves with only saying, That, being tir'd and out of Conceit with worldly Pomp, he convok'd all the Grandees of his Realm to the Monastery of *Leyra*, where, after he had given them to understand, that he was no longer able to resist the divine Inspiration which called him to a Retreat from the World, he abdicated the Throne in Favour of his Brother 885.  
*Don Sancho-Garcia*, and embrac'd a religious Life in the same Monastery.

This Year *Don Sancho* pass'd into *France* to 907.  
 the Assistance of the *Vascons* of *Aquitain*, where finding Matters in a very bad Condition he was oblig'd to continue much longer than he at first intended, which gave an Opportunity to *Abenlop*, *Ben Lop*, or *Ben Lot*, Governor of *Saragossa* for *Abdallah* King of *Cordona*, to make an Irruption into *Navarre*, and to besiege the City of *Pamplona*. The Inhabitants in great Consternation, immediately dispatch'd away an Express to *Don Sancho* to inform him of all that pass'd, and to intreat him to hasten to their Assistance. The King, upon this Intelligence,



ligence, got together all his Forces, to which he added all he could possibly raise in that Province which, at present, is call'd the *Lower Navarre*, and with incredible Expedition march'd to the Foot of the *Pyrenean Mountains*, the Passage whereof he found wholly impracticable by Reason of the extraordinary Quantity of Snow with which the Mountains were all cover'd. However he must of Necessity get thro' it, or sit down and patiently behold the Capital of his Kingdom become a Prey to the *Moors*; for notwithstanding the Inhabitants underwent that furious Siege with a surprizing Resolution, yet the Garrison was so weak, and the Army of the Besiegers so very numerous, that it was not to be expected that the Place could make a much longer Resistance. To succeed in an Enterprize of such Difficulty, and which, in the Eyes of all the World, seem'd humanly impossible, *Don Sancho* caus'd his Soldiers to make themselves a Sort of Shoes which the Peasants of *Navarre* still make Use of. They are made of Oxe's Skin quite raw, and fasten'd upon the Instep with Twine or Pack-Thread. As they were contriv'd so as to keep flat upon the Feet, and were very broad at the Soles, the Men march'd upon the Snow without sinking into it, insomuch that, with little or no Difficulty, they got over to the other Side, to the great Amazement of the *Moors*, who had built all their Hopes of succeeding in what they had undertaken purely upon the Impossibility they had imagin'd there was of getting over those Mountains, which, after Summer was over, had, till then, been always look'd upon as utterly unpassable.

*Don*

*Don Sancho*, being arriv'd within Sight of *Pamplona* unperceiv'd by any, caus'd his Troops to rest themselves for some Time, and then advanc'd and fell upon the *Moors* on every Side with such Fury, that, quite confounded at so unexpected a Shock, their Weapons dropt from their Hands, above One Third of their Army lay dead upon the Spot, almost all the rest were made Prisoners, those few who could avoid either Death or Captivity escap'd by Flight, and the King made a most triumphant Entry into the City amidst the loud Acclamations of the People, who utter'd innumerable Praises to Heaven for having deliver'd them from the Apprehensions they had been in, but a few Hours before, of falling into the Power of the unbelieving *Barbarians*.

Some ignorant Historians will needs have it, that, from that Time, *Don Sancho* was surnam'd *Abarca*, upon Account of those *Shoes* we mention'd above; but they are under a Mistake, as shall be made appear in the Sequel, when we come to treat of *Don Sancho* the Second.

When the Troops had rested for some Time 908.  
to recover themselves from the Fatigues they had undergone in passing the *Pyrenean* Mountains, *Don Sancho*, being resolv'd to quit Scores with the Governor of *Saragossa*, and to punish him for his Temerity in presuming to attack his Metropolis, broke into the *Moorish* Territories, and made himself Master of the Castle of *St. Stephen*, which at present goes by the Name of *Monte-Jardin*; after which he went to the Monastery of *Trache* to return Thanks to the great Lord of Hosts for the Success of his Arms. Soon after this, he made an Irruption into that Part of the Country which borders

- borders upon the little Province of *Alaba*, forc'd all the *Moors* who were settled there to abandon their Habitations, retook *Arcos*, *Sansol*, *Torres*, and several other Places of less Importance, and carry'd his Conquests as far as the Banks of the River *Ebro*, where he got Possession of a Fort, call'd *Cantabria*, which stood opposite to *Logroño*. When he had fortify'd Fort *Cantabria*, and made it a Frontier to cover his new Conquests, he put his harrafs'd Troops into Winter-Quarters, and the ensuing
909. Year, he over-ran the Banks of the *Ebro*, where he had several Encounters with the *Moors*, in all which he got the better, took *Mendabia* and *Lodosa*, and drove his Enemies as far as *Milagro*, a Frontier Place in *Old-Castile*. Not thinking it sufficient only to conquer Countries, he would likewise put his Conquests out of Danger of being insulted by the Enemy, and this was what *Don Sancho* made his sole Application for near Three Years; judging that it would be much more to his Advantage to fortify the Places he had already taken, than to attempt any new Expeditions at present.
914. *Don Sancho*, having now put all his late Acquisitions in a good Posture of Defence, took the Field at the Head of a numerous Army, pass'd the River *Ebro*, and attack'd *Najara*, which is the ancient City of *Tricio*, or *Tritium*, and was inhabited by a People call'd *Verones*: This City was demolish'd by the *Moors* when they conquer'd *Spain*, and out of its Ruins they built a Place which they nam'd *Nager*, and, in Process of Time, the Name, by Corruption, has been chang'd into *Najara*, which it still bears, and gives Title to a Duke. After the Re-



Reduction of *Najara*, the King enter'd into the Province of *Rioja*, and made himself Master of the Castle of *Biblius*, since call'd *Haro*, which Name is become very famous by the many great Men which an illustrious Family that bears it has produc'd for several Ages.

*Don Sancho*, perceiving that *Don Ordoño*, King of *Leon*, was making Preparations to take the Field in order to attack the *Moors*, departed from *Najara*, over-ran the Northern Side of the River *Ebro* as far as *Tudela*, and possess'd himself of *Logroño*, *Alcanadre*, and *Calahorra*; insomuch that, whatever Efforts the *Barbarians* made to maintain their Ground in the Province of *Rioja*, he forc'd them intirely to quit that Country, and re-peopled it with *Christians*. The next Year he took *Tarazona*, *Agreda*, and every one of the Towns which are situated in that Part of the Country which reaches from this last mention'd Place to the Source of the River *Duero*. After this he return'd back, and following the Course of the River *Aragon*, he seiz'd upon all those Places that lie enclos'd between that River and the *Ebro*, from *Tudela* to the Foot of the Mountains, all which he fortify'd and made Frontiers to cover his Dominions from the Insults or Depredations of the *Moors*. 915. 916.

Being now quite spent and ready to sink under the Weight of his Triumphs and glorious Fatigues, he retir'd to the Monastery of *Leyra*, and committed the Management of his victorious Army to his Son, *Don Garcia*, who, at that Time, was Governor of the Province of *Rioja*, and daily signaliz'd himself by some noble Exploit. As such Changes scarce ever intervene in a State without being attended by 919.

by some Alterations and Disturbances, the *Moors* made so great an Advantage of *Don Sancho's* Retreat, that upon the Governor of *Saragossa's* having enter'd with a formidable Army into *Old-Castile*, the Inhabitants of the Country round about were fill'd with so great a Consternation, that *Agreda*, *Tarazona*, *Tudela*, *Logroño*, *Vicaria*, and *Najara* set open their Gates and gave Entrance to the *Moors*; nor could it ever be positively determin'd whether they got Possession of all those Places by Force of Arms, or whether the Inhabitants surrender'd of their own Accord without Compulsion. *Dr. Ferreras* believes, That the Prince *Don Garcia*, foreseeing that those Garrisons were too feeble to resist such great Numbers of Enemies, withdrew them, and left those Places wholly defenceless. In the mean while the *Moors* continu'd their successful Progresses, and press'd *Don Garcia* so close, that no longer able to withstand the frequent Attacks of the *Infidels*, he sent to demand speedy Succour from the King his Father, and *Don Ordoño* King of *Leon*.

As the Consequences of this War had been as fatal and pernicious to the King of *Leon* as to the King of *Navarre*, and as besides *Don Ordoño* was Cousin-Germain to the Prince *Don Garcia*, he made Preparation to hasten to his Assistance; and having sent Orders to the Counts of *Castile* to come and join him with their Troops, he set out upon his March towards *Navarre*.

*Hermogius* Bishop of *Tuy*, and *Dulcidius* Bishop of *Salamanca*, looking upon this War rather as a Religious than a Political War, girt on their Swords and follow'd the King into the Field. Of all the Enterprizes which the *Christians* took in Hand, none ever prov'd so fatal

tal to them as this Expedition: But as we have given a particular Account of all the Circumstances in the Third Book, to which we refer the Reader, to avoid making unnecessary Repetitions of the same Facts. Nor shall we say any Thing concerning the Two signal Victories which the King *Don Sancho*, and *Don Garcia* his Son, obtain'd over the *Moors* some Time after, one in the Valley of *Roncal*, and the other on the Banks of the River *Ebro*, having given the whole Relation of those Actions at Length in the aforesaid Book.

After these Two glorious Expeditions, *Don Sancho* was seiz'd with a grievous Indisposition, which Accident put the Affairs of *Navarre* into some Disorder. Yet nevertheless the Prince *Don Garcia* took the Field, and behav'd himself with so much Valour and Conduct, that, in a very little Time, he recover'd all the Places the Enemy had taken in the Province of *Rioja*, except *Vicaria* and *Najara*; but the following Year, he took them both, with the Assistance of the King his Father, and of *Don Ordoño* King of *Leon*, who, upon this Occasion, gave him many signal Tokens of his Friendship, as may be found as large in the Third Book. 922.

Several Historians pretend, that *Don Sancho* lost his Life in a Battle fought this Year between him and *Don Ferdinand Gonzalez*, the First of that Name, Count of *Castile*. But the Fathers *Moret* and *Abarca*, both learned *Jesuits*, and very well acquainted with the History of *Navarre*, reject this Circumstance as fabulous, and are the more to be credited in their Opinion, because there are some very authentick Acts extant, which are of a later Date, where- 924.



in it is apparently demonstrable, that his Son *Don Garcia* assum'd no other Title than that of *Infante*, an indisputable Argument that his Father was still living. But however it was, or in what Year soever that great Monarch died, it is certain, that no Prince was ever more deserving of the glorious Surname of the *Restorer* than himself, by which Name he is known in divers *Chronicles*.

956. *Don Garcia*, the Second of that Name, his Son and Successor, gave evident Proofs upon all Occasions, that he was no less the Inheritor of his Father's great Virtues and Qualities than of his Crown. Having first given Sanctuary to his Nephew *Don Sancho* the First, King of *Leon*, he march'd into *Castile* at the Head of a formidable Army, to re-establish him upon the Throne, which his Brother, *Don*
960. *Ordoño* the Third, contrary to all Rules of Equity and Justice, had usurp'd, defeated Count *Ferdinand Gonçalcz*, the Usurper's Father-in-Law and Protector, in a bloody Battle he gave him near a certain Place, call'd by some Authors *Aronia*, and by others *Cirueña*, took him Prisoner, sent him to the Castle of *Pamplona*, and at last drove the usurping Tyrant out of *Asturia*, and forc'd him to seek Refuge amongst the *Infidels*, where, overwhelm'd with Misery, he ended his Days in a wretched and contemptible Condition.
961. Notwithstanding the King *Don Garcia* had the Count of *Castile* under close Confinement, and might easily have made himself Master of his whole Estate, yet, at his Return to *Pamplona*, he generously set him at Liberty and sent him Home without Ransom, having first freed him from all Manner of Dependence upon

upon the Kings of *Leon*, to whom he had, till then, been subject; an evident Sign, that this great Prince had no other Views than to render Justice to *Don Sancho* his Nephew, who had been wrongfully and illegally dethron'd by his younger Brother, *Don Ordoño* the Third, and to right the Count, whom the Kings of *Leon* held in an abject, servile Subjection, and had treated after a Manner so imperious, that it savour'd very much of Tyranny. After all his glorious Exploits, *Don Garcia* King of *Navarre* ended his Days, leaving an immortal Name to Posterity, being reputed to have been one of the most virtuous and most pious Princes that ever sat upon the Throne of *Navarre*, from the first Foundation of that Monarchy, as appears by the great Number of Donatives he made to the Churches, the Monasteries, and the Hospitals of his Kingdom. 970.

He was succeeded by his Son *Don Sancho*, the Second of that Name, who was surnam'd *Abarca*. This was a Prince of extraordinary Merit. He highly distinguish'd himself for his Valour in the War he engag'd in against the *Moors*, in Favour of his Cousin-Germain *Don Garcia* Count of *Castile*, as has been observ'd in the Third Book. Nor was his Courage and Intrepidity less conspicuous in a bloody Battle he fought against a formidable Army, commanded by the Governor of *Saragossa*, which General receiv'd a total Defeat, and was forc'd to betake himself to a shameful Flight, tho' his Forces were abundantly superior to those of the King of *Navarre*. 979. 991.

This Prince died Three Years after, and was succeeded by *Don Garcia* the Third, surnam'd the *Trembler*; not that he wanted Courage, but 994.

because always at the Beginning of an Engagement he was seiz'd with a sudden Trembling. There are few or no Passages of his Life remarkable enough to deserve Mention in this Place.  
 1000. He died this Year, and was succeeded by *Don Sancho* the Third, surnam'd the *Great*.

It was with the greatest Justice in the World that this magnanimous Prince had the Surname of *Great* bestow'd upon him, since not one of the Kings, we don't mean only of *Navarre*, but even of all *Spain*, ever advanc'd the Glory of the Throne to so high a Pitch as he. He was not of the Number of those hot-headed, fiery Princes who are guided merely by the Impulses and Motions of a temerarious Valour which is insensible to all Danger, and who precipitate themselves headlong into such intricate and perplexing Non-pluses, that they are indispensably oblig'd to stop short at the Beginning, or at least in the Middle, of their Course. He was, in Reality, a Man of the greatest Courage and Intrepidity that the World ever produc'd, but the Heat of that Courage was temper'd, and very often intirely stifled, and seemingly extinguish'd, by sage and cool Reflections, which curb'd and hinder'd him from exposing his Person to the hazardous Chance of War, unless it was when there was some moral Probability of triumphing over his Enemies. Being fully perswaded that an Enterprizer seldom comes off with flying Colours in whatever he attempts, except he knows how to make Choice of the critical Minute in which he may expect to succeed, he waited a long Time in Hopes that the *Moors* would furnish him with a favourable Opportunity of undertaking something that might make him sufficient



cient Amends for the Time he had lost in Expectation. At last such an Opportunity offer'd itself, and he was too vigilant not to perceive it, and knew better than to let it slip out of his Hands: For, while those *Infidels* were consuming and devouring one another with intestine Wars, which kept all their Troops continually employ'd to their own Destruction, he rais'd a powerful Army, which he led to the Foot of the *Pyrenean Mountains* towards *Aragon*, pass'd over the River *Gallego*, and made himself Master of all the Places he found in his Passage, from the Frontiers of his own Territories as far as the Borders of *Catalonia*, in all which he left good Garrisons. After this, penetrating farther into the Mountains, he seiz'd upon the County of *Sobrarbe*, all the Frontiers of that of *Ribagorça*, and every one of the Forts and Castles thereabouts, out of all which Neighbourhoods he drove the *Moors*, in which he was very well seconded by the natural Inhabitants of the County, who pour'd out infinite Praises and Acknowledgments to Heaven for delivering them from the Tyranny of the *Infidels*; but above all he was most cordially and effectually assisted in this Expedition by a certain Nobleman, whose Name was *Garcia Aynaz*, who, by the Help of his Friends and Relations, surpriz'd the Castle of *Boil*, and deliver'd it into the Possession of the King *Don Sancho*. The Third Year after, he prosecuted his Conquests in those Parts. *Roda*, an Episcopal City, could not avoid falling under his Subjection, upon which *Don Guillermo*, whose Property it was, took up Arms in order to oblige *Don Sancho* to restore it to him,

1011.

1012.

1015.

but was defeated in an Engagement he had with the Royal Troops.

While *Don Sancho* was employ'd in some Disputes and Bickerings he had with the Count of *Ribagorça*, *Mundir*, Governor of *Saragossa*, and who, by a Concession made him by *Suliman*, was become Proprietor and Sovereign of that City, to be reveng'd upon that Prince for all the Mischief he had done him in the Two preceding Years, broke into *Navarre* at the Head of a great Army, and ravag'd the whole Country as far as the Foot of the *Pyrenean* Mountains. The King soon had Information of this Irruption, and immediately left *Aragon* and march'd to find him out; when coming up with him in the Valley of *Funes*, he attack'd him very vigorously, and gave him a notable Overthrow.

1033.

The Conquests of this great Prince were not wholly confin'd within the Circuits of *Aragon*; he carry'd his victorious Arms even to the Frontiers of *Portugal*, as we have observ'd in the Third Book; which Conquests were of so much the greater Advantage and Importance, since, by the Marriage of *Don Ferdinand*, his eldest Son, with *Doña Sancha*, Sister to *Don Veremond*, King of *Leon*, he re-united the Crowns of *Navarre*, *Leon*, and *Castile* in his Family. By this Union he found himself advanc'd to the most exalted Summit of Greatness that a Prince could reasonably aspire to. But if we must of Necessity depend upon the Authority of the *General Chronicle of Spain*, of *Mariana*, and of a great many other Historians, it was not long before he found by Experience, That the most bountiful Gifts of Fortune are almost always attended with Crosses and

and Misfortunes that counterpoize those Favours, and allay all their Sweets. It is after the following Manner that those Authors speak of the most extraordinary Event that ever happen'd, and which, according to them, disturb'd the Serenity of that great Prince's brightest Days.

At the Time, say they, when *Don Sancho* the Great, King of *Navarre*, was in the Field, in order to suppress the Fury and the Insolence of the *Moors*, it happen'd that his Son *Don Garcia* demanded of his Mother a certain Horse, which the King, at his Departure, had very much recommended to her Care. The Master of the Horse, who perceiv'd the Queen was dispos'd to grant her Son what he desir'd, represented to her, that the King would certainly take it very ill, whereat the Prince was so enrag'd, that he took the Resolution of being cruelly reveng'd both upon his Mother and the Master of the Horse: Insomuch that by the most execrable and detestable Calumny that was ever heard of, the King no sooner came Home, but he avow'd to him, That the Queen entertain'd a criminal Commerce with the Master of the Horse. The King, too susceptible of the Impressions this false and abominable Accusation made upon his Mind, instantly gave Orders that this Affair should be brought before Judges.

*Don Ramiro* the King's natural Son, a just, generous, and magnanimous Prince, unable to suffer a prudent and virtuous Queen to be lost thro' the perfidious Calumny of an unnatural Son, resolv'd to defend her Innocence at the Hazard of his Life, by fighting Body to Body with her base Accuser. While this



was transacting, the King was oppress'd with shocking and afflicting Thoughts, which at every Moment rent his Heart to Pieces. Sometimes he revolv'd in his Mind all the Tokens of the most compleat Prudence and the sublimest Virtue the Queen had, during the Course of her whole Life, demonstrated in all her Actions: Anon he would say to himself, that it was altogether impossible that a Son could ever be capable of accusing his Mother of being guilty of an infamous Adultery, had she been innocent of the Crime. The Infamy of beholding the Royal Blood sully'd by the Incontinence of a Princess whom he had honour'd with his tenderest Affection, stirr'd up within him Sentiments of the most cruel Vengeance: But Love, which never loses any of its Prerogatives, painted out to his Imagination that dear Spouse adorn'd with all her Virtues, and as a Model accomplish'd with all Perfections.

While he was thus labouring under this cruel Perplexity, a certain pious Ecclesiastick went to *Don Garcia*, and represented to him the Blackness of his Crime in such pathetick Terms, that touch'd by his Remonstrances, he avow'd to him, That all he had told his Father was wholly false, and invented merely to be reveng'd upon her for having refus'd him the Horse he had demanded. This Declaration fully justify'd the virtuous Queen, and appeased the racking Tortures with which the King's Heart had been so cruelly agitated. But as it was not sufficient only to publish to the World the Mother's Innocence without stigmatizing the base Son with eternal Infamy, *Don Garcia* was declar'd unworthy and incapable of succeeding.

ſucceeding to the Kingdom of *Caffile*, and *Don Ramiro* in Recompence for his generous Zeal and inviolable Attachment to the Intereſts of a virtuous and innocent Princeſs, had the Crown of *Aragon* ſet upon his Head.

Concerning an Event of ſo extraordinary a Nature, we ingenuouſly avow that we are in no ſmall Perplexity to determine whether we ought to propoſe it to our Readers for Truth or Fable. On one Side, we have, as has been already obſerv'd, the *General Chronicle of Spain*, and the Suffrage of almoſt all the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians who atteſt the Truth thereof: But on the other Hand, Father *Moret*, the ſincereſt of all the Writers *Spain* ever produc'd, and the moſt learned Searcher of Antiquity, loudly proteſts, in his *Hiſtory of Navarre*, That every Syllable of what has been ſaid upon that Subject is no other than a Fiction wholly unworthy the Majeſty of Hiſtory, and alledges ſo many Reaſons to ſupport his Opinion, that if we could flatter ourſelves that ours would be of Weight enough to decide this Point againſt ſuch a Number of grave Hiſtorians, we find ourſelves very much dispos'd to do it. But let us have done with *Episodes*, and return to our Narration.

The greateſt Part of *Spain* being united in one Houſe, as has been already declar'd above, it ſeem'd as if nothing was more eaſy to be effected than to extinguiſh for ever the Memory of the *Moors*, who were riding Poſt Haſte to their utter Deſtruction by the Diviſions and Factions amongſt themſelves, and *Spain* might have become the moſt flourishing Monarchy in *Europe*, if ſo many vaſt and opulent Provinces which were poſſeſs'd by the *In-*  
fidels

*fidels* had been re-united under one *Christian* Prince. But by a Partition, magnificent indeed, which *Don Sancho* made amongst his Sons, of the Four Crowns he was possess'd of, was the fatal Source of an Infinity of cruel Wars which ruin'd the People, made the Country desolate, and were very near extinguishing *Christianity* a second Time throughout the whole *Peninsula*, by the frequent Opportunities wherewith they furnish'd the *Moors* of extending their Conquests upon the *Christians*. This is the Manner in which the Partition was made.

1034.

*Don Garcia*, the eldest of *Don Sancho's* Three legitimate Sons, had *Navarre*, that which is now call'd *Biscay*, and the Province of *Rioja*; *Don Ferdinand* had *Castile*; *Don Gonzalez*, the Countries of *Sobrarbe* and *Ribagorça*; and *Don Ramiro*, the King's natural Son, had the Kingdom of *Aragon*. All these Estates were distributed to these Princes with the Titles of Kings, which their Father, before his Death, put them in Possession of; and during his Life they all liv'd in a perfect good Understanding with each other: But they were too ambitious not to fall into Divisions, as we shall soon make appear.

1035.

*Don Sancho* died in the Month of *February*, this Year, as is to be seen by the Inscription upon his Monument in the Cathedral Church at *Leon*, whither his Son *Don Ferdinand* caus'd his Body to be brought from the Church belonging to the Monastery of *Oña*, where it was first interr'd. The Surname of *Great*, and the Title of *Emperor*, which he assum'd, were no other than his rightful Due; and notwithstanding the greatest Part of his heroick



heroick Exploits remain buried in the Obscurities of Oblivion thro' the Negligence of the *Spanish* Historians, they have nevertheless transmitted to Posterity enough to intitle him to the Character of one of the greatest Princes *Spain* ever beheld.

There are some Historians who indistinctly say, That this Monarch's Four Sons were engag'd in a bloody War with each other, wherein they are very much in the Wrong, inasmuch as *Don Gonzalez* peaceably enjoy'd what had been assign'd him by his Father by the Partition Treaty he made of his Realms, and was kill'd this Year by one of his own Domesticks, nam'd *Ramonet*, without ever having had the least Dispute with any one of his Brothers. After his Death the Inhabitants of *Sobrarbe* and *Ribagorça* proclaim'd *Don Ramiro* his Brother, by Reason that his small Patrimony border'd upon their Country, and by Consequence he was nearer at Hand to protect them against the Incurfions of the *Moors* than *Don Garcia*, upon which Account *Mariana*, and some other Historians, have been pleas'd to say, That as a Penitence for the abominable Crime that Prince had committed in wrongfully accusing his Mother of Adultery, he made a Pilgrimage to *Rome* immediately after his Father's Death, during which Time *Don Ramiro* King of *Aragon* attempted to seize upon *Navarre*; but that this Prince returning before his Brother could execute his Design, he not only repuls'd the Invader, but likewise drove him out of *Aragon*.

1038.

It must be agreed that *Don Ramiro* did make War upon his Brother *Don Garcia*; but it was neither so soon, nor after the Manner as those  
Historians

Historians give out. As to the Time, Father *Moret* maintains, that it was not immediately after the Death of *Don Sancho the Great*; Father to both those Princes; Forasmuch, says he, as the Kingdom of *Aragon*, which, in the Partition, had fallen to *Don Ramiro*, was so considerable in Regard to *Don Garcia's* Realm, that it is no Ways possible he should have been able to make Head against him. So that by a very plausible Reason, it follows, that this Prince did not attack *Don Garcia* till after the Death of *Don Gonzalez*, King of *Sobrarbe* and *Ribagorça*, whom he succeeded in his Dominions, which considerably augmented his Strength; and as the King *Don Sancho the Great* died in the Month of *February* in the Year 1035, and *Don Gonzalez* died not till 1038, it is plainly evident, that, according to the Assertion of Father *Moret*, *Don Ramiro* could not attack his Brother, even at the utmost, till the Year 1039. And indeed, How could he possibly have offer'd to attack him before that Time, when he wanted Forces sufficient for such an Attempt? It is certain, That in 1036 this Prince concluded his Marriage with *Gisberga*, Daughter of *Bernardo* Count of *Bigorre*: That, in 1038, *Don Garcia* concluded his with *Estefania*, Daughter to the Count of *Barcelona*, and that in passing thro' *Aragon* in order to espouse that Lady, he was perfectly well receiv'd by *Don Ramiro*. Now if those Two Brothers had been at War, *Don Garcia* would scarcely have ventur'd to pass thro' the Territories of a Brother who was his Enemy, who would have met him with Arms in his Hands to oppose him; nor would *Don Ramiro* have entertain'd him so hospitably at the

the same Time that he had a Design of snatching the Crown from his Head. As to the Manner, those Authors are no more in the Right than they are in the other Respect, since besides the little Appearance there is of *Don Garcia's* going in Pilgrimage to *Rome* for the Expiation of a Crime he never committed, according to the Attestation of Father *Moret*, as has been before observ'd, it is prov'd by authentick Acts, that this Prince never went out of his Realm only when he went to make War against the *Moors*.

From what we have been objecting against those who pretend, that *Don Ramiro* endeavour'd to deprive *Don Garcia* of his Dominions soon after the Death of *Don Sancho the Great*, and at the Time when this Prince was gone in Pilgrimage to *Rome* to obtain Pardon for a chimerical Crime, the Reader may easily comprehend that those Authors are in an Error. We have by so much the better Grounds to oppose their Opinion, that notwithstanding, in the Rigour of the Matter, *Don Ramiro* was powerful enough after the Year 1039 to maintain a War against his Brother, by Reason of the Union of the States of *Sobrarbe* and *Ribagorça* with the Crown of *Aragon*, we learn from *Lucas de Tuy*, a celebrated Historian, and from several others whose Authority is no less to be depended upon, That *Don Ramiro* did not carry the War into *Navarre* till the Year 1042, and even that was not till he had made a League with the Petty-Kings of *Saragossa*, *Huesca*, and *Tudela*. This is the Manner after which this Event happen'd according to *Dr. Ferreras*, and all those who are the greatest Masters of the *Spanish* History.

*Don*



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*Don*

1042. *Don Ramiro* King of *Aragon*, desirous of extending the Bounds of his Dominions, rais'd a great Number of Forces, which coming to the Knowledge of the King of *Saragossa*, he us'd all his Endeavours to conclude a Peace with him: But *Don Ramiro* would not give Ear to his Proposals, but upon Condition, that he would suffer a Bishop to be establish'd in *Saragossa* for the *Christians* who resided in that Capital; and that he, and the Kings of *Huesca* and *Tudela*, should join their Forces with him to assist him in the Execution of a Project he had made; all which was agreed to.

When the League was settled, this Prince enter'd *Navarre*, accompany'd by those Three Petty-Kings, and laid Siege to *Tafalla* at the Time when *Don Garcia* least of all apprehended any such Affair, and was wholly unprovided of every Thing that was necessary to make Head against it. Upon an Invasion he so little expected, he had only just Time to send Word to the Inhabitants of that Place, to stand their Ground, and that he would not fail of coming to their Relief with all possible Expedition. In Effect, having in Haste got together a considerable Number of Troops, he set out in the Night, and under Favour of the Darkness he surpriz'd the Enemy so buried in Sleep, that before they had Time to put themselves in Order, he had cut them to Pieces. *Don Ramiro* perceiving the imminent Danger he was in, and the Impossibility there was of rallying his lost and dispers'd Troops, speedily mounted his Horse, without either Saddle or Bridle, and betook himself to a precipitate Flight, as did likewise the Three Petty Moorish Kings his Confederates. The Night's Obscurity,



scurity, and the lamentable Outcries of the *Moors*, inspir'd the Inhabitants of the besieged Town with so great a Terror, that it is far easier to be imagin'd than describ'd. In this Confusion and Consternation they look'd upon themselves for lost, and expected nothing but to have their Throats cut as soon as Morning appear'd. But as it grew light, distinguishing the Troops of *Don Garcia* from those of the Enemy, and plainly observing the Advantage they had gain'd over them, they ran in Swarms to join their Deliverers, and to augment the Slaughter of the Invaders. Almost all the Besiegers were kill'd, and by that Overthrow *Don Ramiro* was severely punish'd for his Treachery and rash Attempt: *Don Garcia* came off victorious, *Tasailla* was freed from the Danger that threaten'd it, and the Soldiers were enrich'd with the Spoils of their vanquish'd Enemies.

When *Don Garcia* had given his tir'd Troops some Repose, he march'd into *Aragon*, and made himself Master of it without meeting with any Resistance. *Don Ramiro* was forc'd to retire into the Mountains of *Sobrarbe* and *Ribagorça*, where far from endeavouring to put himself in a Posture to oppose the Progress of the Conqueror, he made it his whole Business to merit his Brother's Clemency by an humble Acknowledgment of his Fault, for the which he begg'd his Pardon by the Prelates of his Realm. *Don Garcia*, upon this Occasion, far more generous than his Brother, would not be guilty of a rash Action, after having so valourously defeated him, in order to enhance the Glory of his Triumph he likewise made a Conquest upon himself, by not only grant-

granting him the Pardon he demanded, but also in restoring him to his Friendship, and in returning his Kingdom, notwithstanding he might lawfully have kept it by the Right of Conquest.

1045. The King of *Navarre* having nothing more to fear for the Security of his Realm, endeavour'd to extend its Limits by some new Conquest: And as the City of *Calaborra* lay most convenient for his Purpose, by Reason that it cover'd other Cities of the *Moors*, he laid Siege to it; and notwithstanding the Besieged defended themselves with an incredible Valour and Resolution, he made himself Master of it, re-peopled it with *Christians*, and re-establish'd there the Episcopal See.

1051. *Don Garcia* being taken dangerously ill, *Don Ferdinand* his Brother went to visit him at *Najara*, where the Distemper had seiz'd him; and upon this Occasion the King of *Navarre* degenerated from that Greatness of Soul which he had made appear in Regard to *Don Ramiro*: For notwithstanding he receiv'd the King of *Leon* with singular Demonstrations of a real fraternal Friendship, yet, being both envious and jealous of the Fame and great Prosperity of *Don Ferdinand*, he determin'd to cause him to be arrested in order to despoil him of his Kingdom, or at least to force him to relinquish *Castile*. *Don Ferdinand* having Notice of his Brother's evil Intentions, artfully disssembled, and retir'd without giving him Time to put them in Execution, or letting him know that he had any Knowledge of his Perfidy.

Father *Moret*, who, upon so many Occasions, like a Wall of Brass, opposes all the Historians who are Traytors to the Truth, deviates

viates from it himself in this Particular, by affirming all we have been saying upon this Subject to be no better than a mere Fiction, notwithstanding the Fact is authoriz'd by the Monk of *Silos*, by *Roderic de Toledo*, who at the farthest wrote but Fifty Years after it happen'd, and by *Lucas de Tuy*. How great Deference and Respect soever we may have for that learned Historian, we neither can, nor ought to follow his Sentiments in this Point, inasmuch as it does not seem pardonable in us to reject a certain Tradition which is authoriz'd by the Three most celebrated and most immediate Historians of that Age, and the Apology he strains himself to make for *Don Garcia* will always pass in the Opinions of those who are inclin'd to judge of Things impartially, and without Passion, for the Effect of a too partial Love for his Country which at that Time bias'd him against the Regard he ought to have had for the genuine Truth. We agree, that to give some Air of Probability to his Apologetick System, he appeals to the Subscriptions of the King *Don Ferdinand*, in some of *Don Garcia's* Privileges, dated in the Years which follow'd the Time when this Prince intended to arrest the King of *Leon*, pretending from thence to prove Two Things. First, That *Don Ferdinand* was then in *Navarre*; and Secondly, That there was little Appearance that he would have ventur'd to return thither again, if *Don Garcia* had ever offer'd to arrest his Person. But this Allegation proves nothing at all; it being certain, That the Subscriptions are no other than a Formulary to authorize the said Privileges. That is so true, that the *Spanish History* furnishes



- an Infinity of Subscriptions of *Don Ferdinand*, and *Privileges* dated both in *Leon* and *Castile*, at the very same Time that those mention'd by *Father Moret* were granted by *Don Garcia*: And how could he be at one Time in Two different Realms? It is more natural to believe, that he was then in *Castile* or *Leon*, where his Presence was necessary, than in *Navarre*, where he had no Manner of Business. One very convincing Argument that *Don Garcia* had a Design of arresting his Brother is,
1053. that Two Years after, or thereabouts, *Don Ferdinand* being taken ill himself, *Don Garcia* went to return his Visit, and *Don Ferdinand* caus'd him to be arrested, which prov'd the fatal Occasion of his Death, as has been related at large in the Third Book, whither we refer our Readers to be inform'd of the tragical Catastrophe of this Monarch.
1054. After the Death of *Don Garcia*, his Son *Don Sancho* the Fourth of that Name, succeeded him. He was a Prince of great Merit, of an affable, mild, and pacifick Disposition, respected by Strangers and perfectly ador'd by
1055. his Subjects. The Second Year of his Reign, his Uncle *Don Ferdinand* King of *Leon*, having caus'd the Body of the King *Don Sancho* the Great, his Father, to be remov'd from the Monastery of *Oña* to the Cathedral Church at *Leon*, *Father Moret* pretends to infer from thence, That *Don Ferdinand*, by this Removal of his Father's Remains, renew'd the War which had been formerly mov'd upon Account of the Dismembering of *Castile*, upon which Point we ingenuously avow, that we are not able to comprehend what Foundation the Renewal of this War could have, as finding no
- Manner

Manner of Handle for it, whether we consider both the *Dismembering*, and the Removal of the Body in every Light, and in all the Circumstances which could possibly accompany them, or whether we examine the Force of the Argument this *Annalist* uses to corroborate and establish his System.

The King *Don Ferdinand* causes the Body of his Father to be remov'd from the Monastery of *Oña* to the Church of *Leon*; but it does not follow from thence, that this Prince renew'd the War with *Don Sancho* the Fourth, King of *Navarre*, because if the Monastery of *Oña* belong'd to the County of *Castile*, and was founded by the Count *Don Sancho*, as is incontestably true, according to the Testimony of every one of the *Spanish* Historians who have not plung'd into Fable, or made it their Business to write Romances, the King of *Leon* might, without the least Scruple, transport his Father's Remains from *Oña* to *Leon*, without renewing the War with the King his Nephew. It is to no Manner of Purpose that Father *Moret* strains himself in endeavouring to prove, that *Don Sancho* the Great assign'd the Territory wherein *Oña* stands situated, to the Crown of *Navarre*; all his Arguments are groundless, destitute of Proof, and directly opposite to the universal Opinion of all the Historians who have treated of this Particular. This is what we can attest with an intire Liberty of Sentiment, as not finding in any Part of what Father *Moret* alledges either one apparent Motive, or Pretext that can possibly be susceptible of the least Foundation to establish, or renew a War against the King of *Navarre* upon Account of removing the Body of *Don*

*Sancho the Great.* For, in Reality, every Circumstance contradicts the erroneous Consequences alledg'd by *Father Moret*. The King *Don Ferdinand*, far from having any Design to incroach upon his Nephew's Dominions, caus'd him to be proclaim'd King immediately upon the Death of his Father *Don Garcia the Third*. He order'd the Corps of that his deceas'd Brother to be carry'd to *Najara*, where it was interr'd; and to the Intent that Futurity might be convinc'd that he never took up Arms against him but because he was absolutely forc'd to do it, he sent Embassadors to *Don Sancho* with Compliments of Condolence upon that Occasion, and to make him sensible that it was his Desire to entertain an exact and friendly Correspondence with him, which he would certainly never have done had he had the least Thoughts of making War with him; and more especially because he was then at the Head of a formidable Army, and had just before gain'd a signal Victory over the *Navarrois*, which would infallibly have made it easy for him, by following his Blow, to conquer that whole Realm, had not his Courage been restrain'd by his Justice and Moderation.

1057. The Truth is, *Don Sancho the Fourth*, King of *Navarre*, and *Don Ramiro*, his Uncle King of *Aragon* had an Interview, this Year, in the Monastery of *Leyra*, which was situated upon the Borders of those respective Kingdoms, in order to celebrate the Dedication of that Monastery; that they there made an Alliance, by which they both swore mutually to assist each other in Case they should be attack'd, and that the King of *Navarre* gave to his Uncle



cle the King of *Aragon*, during his Life, the Enjoyment of *Sanguesa*, *Lerin*, and *Undues*; but all this is no Manner of Proof that *Don Sancho* was at War with *Don Ferdinand* King of *Leon*: And undoubtedly Father *Moret* is under a gross Mistake when he makes Mention of this pretended Renewal of the War. But this is not the only Falſity has been reported concerning the Kings of *Navarre* and *Leon*. There is ſtill another Abſurdity no leſs prepoſterous, and which we think ourſelves oblig'd to confute. It is as follows.

The *Navarrois* and *Aragonian* Hiſtorians ſay, That *Don\* Ferdinand* King of *Leon* and *Caſtile*, and *Don Sancho* King of *Navarre*, were at War with each other this Year; but they do not agree amongſt themſelves in the Accounts they give of this War. Some maintain, That the King of *Caſtile* made an Irruption into *Navarre* in an hoſtile Manner; and that he there made himſelf Maſter of divers Places: Others on the contrary, affirm, That the King of *Navarre*, in order to recover a conſiderable Part of his Dominions which, ſoon after his Father's Death, had been taken from him by his Uncle *Don Ferdinand*, call'd to his Aſſiſtance *Don Sancho* King of *Aragon*, his Couſin-Germain, and that when thoſe Two Princes had united their Forces, they march'd to encounter the King of *Caſtile*, who lay encamp'd in the Place where the City of *Viana* is now ſituated, gave him Battle, defeated, and oblig'd him to ſave himſelf by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe. The

1064.

Monk

\* In the French they are both *Sancho's*, which is a Miſtake.

Monk of *St. John de la Peña* is the first Author who has made Mention of this War. But *Dr. Ferreras* vigorously opposes his Opinion, and grounds his own upon several Reasons. The First is, That not one of the contemporary Authors, nor any who came near the Eleventh Century, have said the least Word of this Event. The Second, That the Monk of *St. John de la Peña*, having not written till long after, there is all the Appearance in the World that he had no other Guide than a Vulgar and *Apocryphal* Tradition, since he produces not the least Authority for what he delivers. The Third, That *Don Ferdinand's* Candidness and his Moderation after his Brother's Death, will not permit any one to believe that he had the least Design to attempt any Thing against his Nephew's Interest, since, as has been already observ'd, he was the first to express his Zeal to procure him to be crown'd. The Fourth, That it is not at all probable, that the King of *Castile* should attempt any Hostilities against the King of *Navarre* by Reason that he was continually engag'd in War either with his Brothers, his Sisters, or the *Moors*, nor that the King of *Navarre* should offer to attack *Castile*, since he had not sufficient Strength for such an Enterprize. But let's have done with these Problems, and treat of those Affairs which are agreed to by all the World.

*Don Sancho* King of *Navarre* had Three Brothers and Four Sisters. Their tender Years suffer'd him at first to reign peaceably enough: But that Calm was of no long Continuance. *Don Raymond* the youngest of all having attain'd to the Age of Eighteen Years, gave Signs of a greater Ambition than became a Subject,

Subject. The King had assign'd him *Murillo* for his Appenage, but that Prince was not satisfy'd therewith; for, besides his being displeas'd at the Smallness of that Inheritance, he pretended at least to possess it with the Title of an independent Sovereign. The King, who was no Stranger to the Rights and Privileges of his Crown, and none of which he was any Ways dispos'd to relinquish, absolutely insisted that his Brother should do him Homage for the same, and it is pretended that upon that Prince's Refusal, he despoil'd him of his Estate. There are some Historians who say, That *Don Raymond* retir'd to the *Moorish* Territories, where he was not only honourably receiv'd, but also, that those *Infidels* furnish'd him with an Army to make War upon his Brother: That advancing towards *Peñalen*, the King march'd to encounter him with all his Forces: That this Monarch fought very furiously to chastise a Rebel, and that the *Infante* made incredible Efforts in order to pass from Exile to the Throne: That the Success for a considerable Time remain'd doubtful, but that *Don Raymond*, to whom the Desire of reigning gave fresh Vigour, fought out his Brother in the Midst of the Croud, engag'd with him Hand to Hand, slew him, and that by this great Action he obtain'd the Victory: That after the Death of *Don Sancho*, his Troops made no more Resistance: That *Don Raymond* assum'd the Title of King upon the Field of Battle, and that without suffering the Ardour of his Soldiers to grow cool again, he hasten'd with all Speed to besiege *Pamplona*, from which Place the deceas'd King's Friends caus'd *Doña Placencia* his Wife, and Three Sons she had by

1076.



him, Infants scarce out of their Cradles, the eldest of which was call'd *Don Ramiro*, to be hastily convey'd away; and that after this the City Gates were set open to the Conqueror, who had no other Enemies in the whole Kingdom to encounter.

Notwithstanding what we have been saying is authoriz'd by Historians of some Reputation, we do not propose it to our Readers to any other Intent but that when they chance to meet with it in any Author they should look upon it only as a Fable which has been introduc'd into the History, and which is utterly confuted by the Testimonies of the ACTS of the Monasteries of *Millan* and *Leyra*, by the ANNALS of *Compostela*, by *Roderic de Toledo*, by the Monk of *St. John de la Peña*, and by all the Modern Historians. It is true, indeed, that the King *Don Sancho* fell by the Hand of his Brother *Don Raymond*, not in a Battle, as we have been saying, for had it been so he might have kill'd him without any Dishonour to himself, but by a perfidious Treachery which will brand his Memory with eternal Infamy. This is the Manner in which this fatal Accident happen'd, according to the ACTS and the Sentiments of those grave Historians we have mention'd above, and whose Terms we borrow to deliver it in.



REVOLUTION



## REVOLUTION VIII.



ON SANCHO King of Navarre 1077.

enjoy'd a profound Peace throughout his Dominions, and entertain'd an amicable Correspondence with the Kings of *Leon* and *Aragon*, his Cousin-Germains. But nothing is capable of prescribing any Bounds to the insatiable Ambition of Mortals. *Don Raymond* his Brother, and *Doña Hermefinda*, one of his Sisters, form'd the inhuman Design of depriving him both of his Crown and of his Life. It was a considerable while since they had engag'd in their Conspiracy several Persons whom the King honour'd with his Esteem and Confidence: But till this Time no Opportunity of putting in Execution so detestable an Enterprize had ever presented itself. But now one is offer'd by the King himself, of which they made their Advantage. This Prince having pitch'd upon the Sixth of *June* to divert himself at a Hunting-Match, he came with his whole Court to a certain Eminence, call'd *Penalen*, which is between *Funes* and *Milagro*, where the Rivers *Aragon* and *Ebro* meet, where they were scarce arriv'd, but a large Wild-Boar made his Appearance. The Hunters immediately divided themselves into Parties, and went in its Pursuit. The King, that he might with more Conveniency be an Eye-Witness of the Shifts and Doublings that fierce Animal would

would use to escape from, or attack, his Pursuers, got up to the Top of an exceeding high Rock, from whence he might easily discern all that pass'd. *Don Raymond*, not to let slip so favourable a Moment of accomplishing that Work of Iniquity which he had so long since projected, accompany'd him, with the Confidants of that unfortunate Monarch whom this perfidious Brother had corrupted. The King, as he suspected no Person, minded nothing, but remain'd attentively looking on the Behaviour of the Boar and that of his Hunters. While his Thoughts were thus employ'd, *Don Raymond* and his Accomplices came near him, under Pretext of paying him their Compliments, and giving him a rude Push, they precipitated him from the Top of the Rock to the very Bottom. The Fall was so great and so rapid that his Body was crush'd into several Pieces.

As that good Prince was extremely belov'd by all his Subjects, the sorrowful Tydings of his unhappy Fate no sooner came to their Knowledge, but they immediately resolv'd to take a cruel Revenge. But the Murderers depriv'd them of the Pleasure and Satisfaction they had propos'd to themselves of washing their avenging Hands in their Blood, by making their Escapes, and taking Sanctuary in *Saragossa*, under the Protection of *El Mutadir*, King of that City.

The deceas'd King left Two Sons, both very young, and both whose Names were *Garcia*, the one Legitimate and the other a Bastard. There are, nevertheless, some Historians who affirm them to have been both Legitimate; but there is Room to believe that had they been so, they would not have born the



the same Name. But be that as it will, as he of those young Princes, who, beyond all Contradiction, was begotten in lawful Wedlock, was incapable of governing by Reason of his Want of Years, and because the Grantees would by no Means consent that the Crown should be transferr'd to *Don Raymond*, who had render'd himself unworthy thereof by murdering the late King his Brother, that barbarous Prince call'd in *Don Alphonso* King of *Leon* and *Castile* to take Possession of the Throne of *Navarre*; flattering himself, that thro' the Means of the Inhabitants of the Province of *Rioja*, and of *Biscay*, which Countries he had brought over to his Interest, he might be able to accomplish his Designs. But the *Navarrois*, still faithful to their Prince's Memory, even after his Death, had so mortal an Aversion to all that that inhumane Brother had any Part in, that they would never once give Ear to what had been propos'd concerning the King of *Leon*, notwithstanding they otherwise bore a most profound Respect to his excellent Qualities. That did not however prevent *Don Alphonso* from repairing, with the utmost Diligence, to *Rioja*, accompany'd by the Queen *Doña Inez*, his Spouse, nor from being proclaim'd at *Calahorra*.

As nothing is so conducive towards gaining the Hearts of a People as the Favours which a Sovereign distributes amongst them, this Prince confirm'd that City in all the Privileges and Immunities which had been granted it by the King *Don Garcia*. He did the like to the Inhabitants of *Najara*, and other Places in that Province, by which Means he, without

without much Difficulty, annex'd that whole Country to the Crown of *Castile*.

While these Matters were transacting in the Province of *Rioja*, the *Navarrois* call'd to their Assistance *Don Sancho* King of *Aragon*, who no sooner receiv'd the Invitation but he went to *Pamplona*, and was there solemnly proclaim'd. These Two Princes being thus ready arm'd, and having an equal Claim of Consanguinity to dispute their Pretensions to the Crown of *Navarre*, there was a great deal of Appearance that neither of them would yield to his Competitor, and by Consequence, it was to be fear'd that a bloody War would ensue, of which the Subjects could not fail of being the miserable Victims. This Reflection awaken'd the Attention of the Prelates and Grandees of the Realm; insomuch, that having interpos'd as Mediators to bring their Disputes to an Accommodation, it was, after a mature Deliberation, decided, That each of those contending Princes should keep what he was possess'd of, and that the River *Ebro* should serve as a Barrier to divide their respective Dominions.

As we have treated at large of the heroick Exploits of *Don Alphonso* King of *Leon* and *Castile* in the Third Book, and shall have Occasion to treat of those of *Don Sancho* King of *Aragon* and *Navarre* when we write the *Revolutions* of *Aragon*, we shall at present content ourselves with only saying, That, notwithstanding this Prince had establish'd himself in *Navarre* amidst those Troubles and Agitations merely in order to secure, as he gave out, the Right of the *Infante Don Ramiro*, he made not the least Shew of calling to Mind that young Prince no more than if there had  
never

never been such a Person in the World, and the People dazzled and charm'd with the great Actions of their new King, wholly forgot the *Infante*.

We shall see in the Seventh Book, that he was the Terror of the *Moors*, that he enlarg'd his Dominions on every Side, and that he brought *Navarre* so well under his Obedience, that having had Two Sons by the Queen *Doña Felicia*, the eldest of those Princes, whose Name was *Don Pedro*, no sooner arriv'd to Fifteen Years of Age, but he declar'd him Heir to the Crowns of *Aragon* and *Navarre*. He reign'd after that Twelve Years in great Glory and Splendor, and was kill'd at the Siege of *Huesca* by an Arrow which pierc'd his Body in at the Arm-pit. It is affirm'd, That, dissembling the Pain he felt, he retir'd into his Tent, where he commanded *Don Pedro*, his Eldest Son, and *Don Alphonso* the Youngest, to take an Oath to continue the Siege after his Decease, and never to leave the Camp till they had reveng'd his Death by the Conquest of the Place. After this he caus'd the Iron Head of the Arrow, which he had in his Body, to be drawn out without expressing the least Concern, and expir'd immediately after it was taken out. Besides those Two Princes we mention'd, he had a Third Son of whom we shall have Occasion to speak in another Place.

*Don Pedro* his eldest Son, who for Nine Years before had born the Title of King of *Sobrarbe*, succeeded his Father to the Crowns of *Aragon* and *Navarre* without any Opposition. He faithfully fulfill'd the Oath he had given his dying Father, and carry'd *Huesca* by Assault. His Reign was famous and memorable for several



veral other great Actions, as we shall make appear when we treat of the *Revolutions of Aragon*. It seem'd as if there was nothing wanting to compleat his Happiness, having Two Children, a Son and Daughter, by the Queen his Consort; to wit, *Don Pedro*, so call'd after his own Name, and *Doña Isabella*. The Prince he marry'd to *Doña Sol*, the Eldest of the Daughters of *Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar*, surnam'd the *Cid*, that famous Captain whom we may justly call the *Spanish Hero*. But a Kind of Fatality fell all at once upon his Family to make him sensible of the Turns of Fortune.

1103. The Prince *Don Pedro* died without Issue, soon after his Marriage; the *Infanta* his Sister surviv'd him but a few Months, and the King himself, overwhelm'd with Grief, died on the

1104. Twenty Eighth of September, the Year following, and was interr'd in the Church belonging to the Monastery of *St. John de la Peña*, near his Children.

His Brother the *Infante Don Alphonso*, surnam'd the *Warrior*, succeeded him. He was already marry'd to *Doña Urraca*, Daughter to *Don Alphonso* the Sixth, King of *Leon* and *Castile*, Widow to the Count *Don Raymond*, and Heiress to both those Crowns. Not long after his Mariage he re-united upon his own Head all the *Christian Crowns* in *Spain*, upon which Account he took the Title of *Emperor*. We shall not, in this Place, enter into a Detail of the glorious Events of his Reign; since, besides the straying from our Subject in Hand, we have already deliver'd, in the Third Book, what was indispensably necessary to be observ'd in Regard to *Castile*, and in the Eighth we shall mention what regards *Aragon*. It is sufficient

sufficient to say, that he died without Children, out of mere Chagrin and Regret for his having been defeated by the *Moors* in the Battle of *Fraga*, and that the Confusion and Perplexity in which the *Aragonians* and *Navarrois* found themselves about chusing one to succeed him by Reason that the *Infante Don Ramiro* his only Brother was a *Monk* in the Monastery of *Tonneres*, in the Province of *Narbonne*, (and not in that of *Sahagun*, as some little exact Historians have advanc'd) gave Room for the following Revolution.

1134



## REVOLUTION IX.



THE King was scarce dead, when the General States of the Two Realms assembled to consult upon the Methods they should take to circumvent the Enterprizes of *Don Alphonso* the Seventh, King of *Castile*; and without having any Regard to the late King's Will, who had dispos'd of his Dominions in Favour of the Military Orders of *St. John of Jerusalem*, the *Knights Templars*, and the *Canons of St. Sepulcher*, they immediately proceeded to the Election of a Successor. Every one cast his Eyes upon *Don Pedro Atares*, the richest and the most accomplish'd Nobleman in the whole Realm. Besides all his excellent Qualifications, he was of the Blood Royal, being Grand-son to *Don Sancho*, Lord of *Alvar*, natural Son to *Don Ramiro* the First. The late King,

King, *Don Alphonso* the *Warrior*, had a very particular Esteem for him, had given him the City of *Borja* with all its Dependances, and had frequently made Use of his prudent Counsel in the Administration of the Affairs of his Realms. By so many Marks of Distinction that Monarch seem'd, as we may say, to have design'd him for his Successor. As to the rest, he had none to stand in Competition with him except the *Infante Don Ramiro*, who was, in Reality, Brother to the Two immediately preceding Kings, but who had been judg'd so far incapable of wearing the Crown, that, from his very Infancy, he had been destin'd for a Monastick Life: In a Word, he had been Forty Five Years a profess'd *Monk*, and a *Priest*, and more than that, had been nam'd to the Bishoprick of *Roda*. All these Reasons concurr'd to plead in *Don Pedro's* Favour, when one Obstacle presented itself to destroy them every one. He was of an imperious and haughty Disposition, and very full of himself upon Account of his high Extraction. This was enough to turn the greatest Part of the Nobility from that Choice. One of them declar'd in a full Assembly, That going one Day to make him a Visit, he sent him down Word, that he was not to be seen, being very busy; and that he heard afterwards, that that Prince had at that Time shut himself up in his Apartment with his Barber. This inconsiderable Trifle did not fail of making a strong Impression on the Minds of all who heard it related. But above all, *Don Pedro Tizon*, and *Don Pelegrino de Castellezuelo*, Two of the most considerable, and best qualify'd Lords in the whole Assembly, who, upon other Accounts, bore



bore *Don Pedro Atares* a secret Hatred, so vigorously oppos'd his Election, which was to have been decided by Plurality of Votes, that it was rejected. As this Prince had a considerable Number of Partisans amongst the Electors, and the States were convok'd at *Borja*, of which Place he was Proprietor, there arose a Murmur amidst the Assembly which degenerated into a Kind of Schism, the Consequences whereof, might have prov'd fatal to the State. The *Aragonians* inclin'd one Way, and the *Navarrois* another, which was the Occasion that nothing could be concluded upon, nor no Resolution taken. At last the Disputes grew so high that the States divided. The *Aragonians* assembled at *Monçon*, according to some Historians, or, according to others, at *Jaen*, and the *Navarrois* at *Pamplona*.

The *Aragonians*, who were unwilling that the Race of their Kings should become extinct, chose the *Infante Don Ramiro*, Brother to the late King *Don Alphonso*, notwithstanding he was a Monk and Priest, as has been already observ'd: Nay, there are some Historians who say, that he was crown'd at *Huesca*. Immediately after, they hasten'd to marry him with *Doña Agnes*, Sister to *William*, last \* King of *Aquitain*, with a Dispensation from the Anti-Pope *Anacletus*, whose Interest that Prince maintain'd in *France* with a most scandalous and shameful Obstinacy, so that this Princess was

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\* This cannot be right; for Charles, Second Son to Charles the Bald, King of France, was the last King of Aquitain, and was crown'd by his Father at Limoges, in 855, and died in 866. So that I take this for a Mistake of the Press, in putting King instead of Duke.

conducted into *Aragon*, and there soon after marry'd to *Don Ramiro*.

While all this was transacting in *Aragon*, the *Navarrois*, who would by no Means be prevail'd with to submit to a *Monk*, took, amongst themselves at *Pamplona*, Measures directly opposite to *Don Ramiro's* Interests. One of the Assembly, with an elegant and persuasive Vivacity, represented to the rest, "That they  
"ought to be weary of bowing their Necks  
"under the Yoke of the *Aragonians*, and of  
"seeing all the Honours and Dignities of the  
"Realm pass thro' the Hands of Strangers:  
"That their Fathers had call'd in *Don Sancho*  
"King of *Aragon* to deliver them from the  
"Usurpation of *Don Raymond*, and that he him-  
"self became the Usurper, refusing to render  
"Justice to the *Infante Don Ramiro*, Son, and  
"legitimate Heir, to their King *Don Sancho*  
"the Fourth: That that unhappy Prince, de-  
"priv'd by his Subjects and his Kinsman of  
"a Crown which of Right belong'd to him,  
"had been reduc'd to the wretched Necessity  
"of leading a private Life, and had died in  
"Obscurity in the Year 1120: But that by  
"*Doña Elvira de Vivar*, the *Cid's* Daughter,  
"he had left an only Son, nam'd *Don Garcia*,  
"who was worthy to fill the Place of his  
"Grand-father: That he had an equal Share  
"of personal Merit and Greatness of Soul:  
"That the late King having given him a Com-  
"mand in 1127, he had worthily answer'd  
"the Expectations of every one by obtaining  
"those Lawrels which should adorn the Brows  
"of a Prince whose Grand-fathers were *Don*  
"*Sancho* the Fourth, and the ever famous *Cid*."  
He concluded with exhorting them to shake  
off

off the *Aragonian* Yoke, and to restore the Crown to its rightful Owner.

The Remonstrances of this Nobleman made so lively an Impression in the Souls of the whole Assembly, that after a general Applause, they unanimously resolv'd to place the *Infanté Don Blasco* upon the Throne. He was then at *Monçon*, of which Place he was Lord by Right of *Doña Elvira* his Mother, where he liv'd in a Retirement and Obscurity which those Princes whose Birth or Pretensions render them suspected to their Sovereigns ought always to affect, and was very far from ever harbouring any such ambitious Thoughts. Since the Prince was so near at Hand it seem'd natural for those Electors to have given him Notice of the Happiness they design'd him, and to have sent for him; but they were apprehensive of opening the Eyes of the *Aragonians*, who being Masters of *Monçon* might have seiz'd *Don Garcia's* Person, and thereby have destroy'd their whole Design. To avoid this Inconveniency they kept secret their Resolution, and in the mean while dispatch'd away to that Prince *Don Guillen Asnarez de Otieda*, and *Don Ximenes Asnarez de Torres*.

Those Two Noblemen being arriv'd at *Monçon*, desir'd to speak with *Don Garcia* in private, and being admitted, they cast themselves at his Feet, and call'd him their Sovereign. It is as easy to judge of the Joy and Surprise *Don Garcia* was in, as it is to guess at the Reception he gave those Deputies. He departed with them the next Day without divulging the Secret, and arriv'd at *Pamplona*, where he was proclaim'd and crown'd King in the Month of *October*, amidst the general Accla-



mations of the People. He was a Prince of near Forty Years of Age, endow'd with many shining and excellent Qualities, and whom the private Life he had led had render'd extremely capable of governing without affecting that Effeminacy, or assuming those haughty Airs which are so prejudicial and disagreeable to the Subject.

The *Aragonians* and their \* *Unfrooked* King were wonderfully astonish'd when they heard of an Event they so little dream'd of. They immediately betook themselves to Arms in order to preserve *Navarre* in the Union that Kingdom had been in with *Aragon*, for Fifty Four Years past, which occasion'd a bloody War between those Two Realms, which *Don Garcia* sustain'd with a Valour and Conduct which fully justify'd the Idea the *Navarrois* had conceiv'd of him when they determin'd to advance him to the Throne, the Rights whereof he knew so well how to defend, that he kept Possession of it, and transmitted it to his Descendants, as we shall make appear in the Sequel.

While the *Aragonians* and the *Navarrois* were using great Diligence to elect a King, and the *Moors* were making frequent Incurfions into the Plains of the Kingdom of *Aragon*, *Don Alphonso* King of *Leon*, who had already got Intelligence of the Loss of the Battle at *Fraga*, and of the Death of *Don Alphonso* the *Warrior*, appear'd, at the Head of a powerful Army in the Province of *Rioja*, where immediately upon his Arrival *Najara* and *Calaborra* were

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\* *Defroqué*, which signifies A Monk stripp'd of his Habit.

were surrender'd into his Hands. From thence he remov'd in all Diligence to *Tarazona*, which likewise surrender'd, as did all the other Towns which stand situated upon the South Bank of the River *Ebro*, the Inhabitants whereof submitted to his Obedience merely to put themselves under Cover from the Insults of the *Moors*, who were destroying all that Country with Fire and Sword. When he had plac'd good Garrisons in all the Fortresses he had conquer'd, he went to *Saragossa*, where he was receiv'd by the King *Don Ramiro*, and by all the Prelates and Noblemen of the Realm, to whom he declar'd, That his coming thither was to no other Intent than to assist and protect them from the Insults of the *Moors*, who being become proud and insolent since the Victory they had gain'd at *Fraga*, tyranniz'd over the *Christians* more than ever they had done. The King *Don Ramiro*, the Prelates and Grandees of that Kingdom, in Acknowledgment of the King of *Leon's* Bounty and Goodness towards them, resolv'd to make him a Present of the City of *Saragossa*, in which Metropolis he plac'd a numerous Garrison, and soon after took the Way to *Toledo*. *Don Garcia* King of *Navarre*, who passionately desir'd to bring him over to his Party, hoping that his Assistance would very much favour his Pretensions, went out to meet him, and paid him Homage for his Realm.

The *Aragonians* and the *Navarrois*, not being able to bring Matters to any Accommodation, made Preparations to determine their Differences by Force of Arms. *Don Ramiro* King of *Aragon* pretended, That *Navarre* of Right belong'd to him by Reason that *Don Al-*

1135.

*phonso* his Brother had been King thereof. *Don Garcia* King of *Navarre*, on the contrary, maintain'd, That the Crown of *Navarre* had devolv'd to him, upon Account of his being the most immediate Prince of the Blood Royal, whereas *Don Ramiro* was a Monk and a profess'd Priest. The Subjects of each respective Kingdom, who passionately desir'd to avoid a War which would not only involve them into the greatest Perplexities imaginable, but would likewise give the *Moors* very great Advantages over the *Christians*, interpos'd to bring those Disputes to an Accommodation: Inso-much that after divers Conferences held upon an Affair of such Importance, it was agreed, That either of the Two Pretenders should remain peaceable Possessors of what they already had, and that *Don Garcia*, as younger than *Don Ramiro*, who was besides Brother to the late King *Don Alphonso*, should in some Manner acknowledge that Prince for his Superior.

1136.

Peace being thus concluded between *Don Ramiro* and *Don Garcia*, the latter of these Princes made an Alliance with *Don Alphonso Enrique* Prince of *Portugal*, in order to carry on a War against the Emperor *Don Alphonso* the Seventh, and notwithstanding the Historians make no Mention of the Motives the King of *Navarre* had to unite his Forces with those of *Portugal*, the Circumstances which preceded and which follow'd that Confederacy make appear, on one Side, That the *Portuguese* were desirous of shaking off the Emperor's Yoke, and on the other, That *Don Garcia's* Design was to recover *Najara*, and the Places in the Province of *Rioja*, which *Don Alphonso* unjustly kept from him.

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The Emperor, incens'd against *Don Garcia*, broke into *Navarre* which he ruin'd with Fire and Sword, and made himself Master of all the Towns upon the Frontier, in one of which the Count *Don Ladron*, one of the greatest Noblemen of the Realm, having been taken Prisoner, did Homage to that victorious Monarch, who content with the Mischief he had already done to his Enemies, retir'd. But the Year following, he sent a considerable Body of Troops into *Navarre* under the Conduct of the Counts *Don Rodrigo Gomez*, *Don Lope Lopez*, and *Don Gutierre Fernandes* who committed terrible Devastations in that Country while the King *Don Garcia* was employ'd in *Aragon*, where Father *Moret* says he took *Malon* and *Bureta*; but as he has not produc'd the least Authority which proves the taking of those Two Places, the Truth of his Assertion may be call'd in Question without running into any extraordinary Criticism. It is believ'd, That at about that Time the Emperor *Don Alphonso* and the King of *Navarre* concluded a Peace, without its being known upon what Conditions, the Historians not mentioning any single Article thereof. Howsoever it happen'd, that Peace was of no long Continuance, since Two Years after *Don Garcia* enter'd into a new Alliance with the Prince of *Portugal*.

1137.

1139.

Father *Moret* affirms, That he employ'd that Interval of Time in making War upon *Don Raymond* Prince of *Aragon*, and Count of *Barcelona*. He adds, That in the same Year he reduc'd the Towns of *Sos* and *Pitillas*; but his Story carries so little Authority with it, that the least penetrating Eye may easily discern, that this learned *Annalist*, at the same

1140.

Time that he makes Use of all the Profoundness of his Knowledge to endeavour to expel from the History those Fables which had been introduc'd into it by the Ancient Authors, exposes his Unfincerity from Time to Time, by sinking under the itching Inclination he had to do Honour to his own Country at the Expence of that of the *Aragonians*, and of other Nations which have been at War with *Navarre*. We do not however pretend to alledge from thence, that he has been guilty of romancing when he says, That *Don Garcia* was employ'd in *Aragon* against the Prince *Don Raymond*, since we have positive Proofs, that this Year, that Prince made an Alliance with the Emperor *Don Alphonso*, by which it was agreed, That they should both at once attack the Kingdom of *Navarre*. *Don Garcia* thought to divert that Storm by entering into an Alliance with the Prince of *Portugal*; but that hinder'd not the Emperor from making an Irruption into his Dominions, nor from taking from him the Towns of *Milagro*, *Funes*, *Peralta*, and *Falces*. After this *Don Alphonso* went to besiege *Pamplona*, which nevertheless he did not take, as we shall immediately make appear.

*Don Garcia* King of *Navarre*, who foresaw that his Capital could not fail of being invested, and that if he waited till the Prince of *Aragon* had join'd the Emperor *Don Alphonso*, he should be inevitably lost, took the Field at the Head of his Army in order to prevent that Conjunction, and left a strong Garrison in *Pamplona* to defend that Capital against the Emperor's Attacks, whilst he himself march'd to oppose the *Aragonians* and *Catalans*. The Event prov'd very fortunate on his Side. He  
came

came up with the Prince *Don Raymond*, fell upon, routed, and put him to Flight. The Emperor having Notice of the Defeat of his Ally, rais'd the Siege of *Pamplona* and hasten'd to his Assistance. He found the *Navarrois* busily employ'd in enriching themselves with the Spoils of their Enemies, who terrify'd at the Appearance of the Standards of *Castile*, abandon'd their Booty and posted themselves in a Place where they could not be attack'd; inso-much that the Emperor made his Advantage of the Fruits of their Victory, and put his Troops into Quarters to take some Refreshment, waiting the Return of the Autumn to renew the War.

The Season to re-take the Field being come, the Emperor march'd with his Army to *Calaborra*, there to wait the Arrival of the Prince of *Aragon*. *Don Garcia*, always active, vigilant, and clear-sighted, posted himself opposite to his Enemy's Camp, with Two Views: The one to attack the Emperor if he found a favourable Opportunity, and the other to prevent the Conjunction of the *Aragonians* with the *Castilians* in Case he could not give them Battle. Both Armies lay thus facing each other with a Countenance which sufficiently express'd their mutual Eagerness of coming to Blows. The Prelates and Nobility of those respective Realms, who had accompany'd the Emperor *Don Alphonso* and the King of *Navarre*, rightly supposing, that a good Peace would turn much more to the Advantage of either Party than a War, the Consequences whereof must unavoidably prove favourable to the Enterprizes of the *Moors*, us'd so many pressing Instances with the Emperor and the King



King of *Navarre* that those Monarchs, having had an Interview between *Tudela* and *Alfaro*, Matters were brought to an Accommodation: And in order to tye their Union the stronger, it was agreed between them, That the *Infante Don Sancho*, the Emperor's Son, should espouse the *Infanta Doña Blanca*, Daughter to the King of *Navarre*, insomuch that the Camps broke up, and every one retir'd to his own Home.

1141. However the King *Don Garcia* and the Prince of *Aragon* still continu'd the War. But whether it was that there were some Proposals towards an Accommodation which brought them to agree upon a Suspension of Hostilities for some Time, or whether it was for Want of favourable Opportunities of annoying each other, it is certain, that during the whole Course of this Year, they did nothing worth mentioning; and it was not till the Year following that the Prince of *Aragon* appear'd upon the Frontiers of *Navarre*, where he laid Siege to *Lombier*, but that Enterprize ended in his own Disgrace: For the King of *Navarre* going to relieve that Town, struck such a Terror into the *Aragonians*, that they rais'd the Siege with Precipitation, and made a disorderly Retreat. Above a Year pass'd after this, in all which Time we are not able to know whether those Two Princes did any Thing that may deserve a Place in our Narration. But
1142. this Year *Don Garcia* besieg'd *Tarazona*, and after he had made himself Master of that Place, he committed terrible Devastations in *Aragon*, whereat the Emperor *Don Alphonso* was so incens'd, that he immediately directed his March towards *Navarre*, and sat down before *Najara*.

*Najara.* *Don Garcia*, being not in a Condition to resist him, set the Prelates and Nobles of both Parties to work, to prevail with him to accommodate all Differences, to which the Emperor consented, upon Condition, That the King of *Navarre* should marry a natural Daughter of his, whose Name was *Doña Urraca*, which he had by an *Asturian* Lady of very great Distinction; so that a Peace was concluded between *Castile* and *Navarre*, and a Cessation of Arms was agreed upon between *Don Garcia* and the Prince of *Aragon*.

From that Time *Don Garcia* King of *Navarre* liv'd in perfect Peace with all his Neighbours, and died this Year, after a very glorious Reign of Sixteen Years. His first Wife was *Margaret*, Daughter to *Rotrou* Count of *Perche*, who had pass'd into *Spain* in Search of Honour by fighting against the *Moors*, and had there done such important Services to the King *Don Alphonso* the Warrior, that in Recompence thereof he had obtain'd a Grant of the City of *Tudela*, which was the Dowry of that Princess. After the Crown of *Navarre* had been conferr'd upon him, as to its rightful Heir, it continu'd, for almost Two Centuries, passing from Father to Son, or from Brother to Brother without any Interruption or Revolution; so that, notwithstanding we are not writing an exact History of the Dynasties of *Spain*, we shall not omit saying something of the Succession of all those Kings, that we may pursue the Order we have prescrib'd ourselves, which we have thought the only Method capable of giving a regular Idea of the principal Events which have been either the Cause  
or

1150.

or the Consequence of those *Revolutions* which are the chief Object of this Work.

1151. After the Death of the King *Don Garcia*, *Don Sancho*, his Eldest Son, the Sixth of the Name, surnam'd the *Sage*, succeeded him, being but Fifteen Years of Age; and at those immature Years he made himself admir'd by all his Subjects, whom he gloriously govern'd for Fourteen Years. He had not reign'd full Three Years when he marry'd the *Infanta Doña Sancha*, Daughter to the Emperor *Don Alphonso*, and was honour'd with Knighthood by his Father-in-Law. A few Days after, he concluded a Truce with the King of *Aragon*, which continu'd about Four Years, at the End of which the Prince *Don Raymond* enter'd *Navarre* with an Army and made himself Master of *Val-*
1156. *Roncal*. The Emperor *Don Alphonso* undertook to accommodate Matters between those Two Princes; but the King of *Navarre* was so extremely piqu'd, that he refus'd the Mediation of his Father-in-Law, which exasperated that Monarch to such a Degree, that he made an Alliance with *Don Raymond*, and in Conjunction entering *Navarre*, they made themselves Masters of the whole Country, from the Frontier as far as *Artajona*. As the Emperor and *Don Raymond* had not made that Irruption into *Don Sancho's* Dominions with any other View than to bring him to an Accommodation, and therefore took no Care either to fortify, or garrison, the Places they had conquer'd, the ensuing Year, which was that of the Emperor's Death, the King of *Navarre* recover'd them all without meeting with the least Opposition.
- 1157.

The



The Death of the Emperor having caus'd *Don Sancho* to open his Eyes to see his own real Interest, he made Peace with the Prince *Don Raymond*, to whom he return'd *Tarazona*, and after that march'd with his whole Strength towards the Province of *Rioja*, to endeavour to recover it out of the Hands of the King of *Castile*, who without Right or Justice kept Possession of it; but, to his Misfortune, he had to do with the Count *Don Ponce de Minerva*, one of the most experienc'd Captains of his Age, who gave him a bloody Battle wherein the King of *Navarre* was defeated, insomuch that he retir'd exceedingly mortify'd, grounding his whole Hope upon some *Revolution* that might happen in *Castile*, to open the Way for him to make a new Attempt towards the Recovery of a Province which was of such Importance to him, and to which he had so incontestable a Right.

Not long after the Houses of *Manrique* and *Castro* furnish'd him with an Opportunity, by raising a Civil War in that Realm which the whole Power of *Don Ferdinand* was not sufficient to appease without the greatest Difficulty imaginable. *Don Sancho* took the Advantage of those Broils, and in one Campaign made himself Master of *Logroño*, *Entrana*, *Zerezo*, *Grañon*, *Eribiesca*, and every one of the Places which are situated in that Country which lies extended from the Banks of the River *Ebro* to the Mountains of *Oca*. But the ensuing Year, the Count *Manrique*, assisted by all his Kinsmen and Friends, rais'd a powerful Army, and taking his Advantage of the Oversight the King of *Navarre* had been guilty of in weakening his Garrisons to send Succours  
to

1158.

1160.

to *Mahomet Ben Yusuf* King of *Valencia* and *Murcia*, easily recover'd all the King of *Castile* had lost the Year before. Ten whole Years pass'd in the Wars this Prince was engag'd in, sometimes with the Kings of *Castile*, and sometimes with those of *Aragon*, in which he got some Advantages upon several Occasions, and in others receiv'd very considerable Checks and Losses; but none of them all perplex'd him so much as this we are going to speak of.

1172. While the King of *Aragon* was busily employ'd against the *Moors* in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, the King of *Navarre* made an Irruption into his Territories, and took from him *Tramoz*, a Place of very great Importance, which oblig'd the King of *Aragon* to abandon his Conquests and hasten to oppose that Enemy. And as he knew that the King of *Castile* was no less exasperated against the King of *Navarre* than he was himself, and there was a League between them of a long standing, those Monarchs had an Interview to determine upon the Method how they should proceed against a Prince who was continually giving them so many Disquiets: And for Fear lest the Re-confirmation of their Alliance they made at this Interview should happen to be broke off upon Account of any Advantages either of the Parties might propose by its Dissolution, they reciprocally gave each other a Place in Pledge for their mutual Security. The King of *Castile* put into the Hands of the *Aragonians* a Place call'd *Bardejo*, and the King of *Aragon* deliver'd up to the *Castilians* the Castle of *Ariza*.

By Virtue of this Treaty, the Two Confederate Kings join'd their Forces in the Beginning

ginning of Autumn, and march'd into *Navarre*. The *Aragonian* Army enter'd by the Way of *Tudela*, the whole Territory whereof they destroy'd with Fire and Sword. and took the Fort of *Arguedas*. The King of *Castile* enter'd by *Logroño*, and penetrated to the very Gates of *Pamplona*. It might have been said, that this furious Torrent was just ready to swallow up the whole Kingdom of *Navarre*, and *Don Sancho* seem'd to be upon the very Brink of inevitable Destruction: But that vigilant Prince had so well fortify'd all his strong Holds, and affected to put on so undaunted a Countenance, that his Two potent and formidable Enemies, despairing of being able to conquer him, took the Resolution of returning Home to their respective States in Expectation of a more favourable Opportunity.

The King of *Castile*, perceiving, that in making Incurfions into *Navarre* all his Operations were reduc'd to a few Ravages and Depredations which were less burdensome to *Don Sancho* than to himself, and that in the meanwhile he recover'd nothing of what that Prince had taken from him, determin'd to attack *Grañon*, a Place of great Consequence in the Province of *Rioja*; but the Besieged made so valiant and vigorous a Defence, that despairing to get Possession of it by Force of Arms, he resolv'd to reduce it by Famine, wherein he succeeded after a long Siege.

The King of *Aragon* having made many fruitless Endeavours to get Possession of *Tudela*, fell upon *Milagro* which he easily took; but in Requital, the King *Don Sancho* broke into *Aragon*, where he did great Mischief, and made himself Master of *Cajuelos*. This War continu'd



continu'd still Two Years longer, without any of the Historians mentioning the Effects it produc'd. Father *Moret* only says, That in the Month of *April*, the King of *Navarre* took *Malvecin*: But in that Particular it is likely there was something of Affectation on that Historian's Part in order to enhance his Country's Honour, since *Roger Hoveden* positively says, That the Embassadors which *Don Sancho* sent to the King of *England*, who had undertaken to accommodate the Differences between these Three Princes in the Year 1177, as we shall soon declare, demanded, by an Article of their Instructions, That the Places of *Quel*, *Ocon*, *Pazuengos*, *Grañon*, *Zerezo*, *Balereanas*, *Tripiana*, *Milier*, *Almayago*, *Ayaga*, *Miranda*, *Santa Gadea*, *Salinas*, *Portilla*, *Leguin* and the Castle of *Godin*, which had been lately conquer'd by the King of *Castile*, should be restor'd to the King their Master, which is an evident Proof that the *Annalist* Father *Moret* is guilty of some Fetches and Tergiversation.

1176. Be that as it will, this Year, the Kings of *Castile* and *Aragon* employ'd their utmost Efforts to crush the King of *Navarre*, and had perhaps succeeded in their Enterprize, if the Prelates and Nobility (more sensibly touch'd with the Calamities under which the *Christian* Religion labour'd, which by Reason of the Disunion amongst the *Christian* Princes was grievously persecuted by the *Moors*) had not, in lively Colours, represented to the Two Confederate Kings, That it was both far more glorious and more advantageous for them to put a Stop to the Impetuosity of the *Almohades*, than to gain Conquests upon the King of *Navarre*,

*Navarre*, their Kinsman, their Neighbour, and who profess'd the same Religion with themselves. These Representations produc'd so good an Effect, that those Two Monarchs prepar'd themselves for an Accommodation: And as this is one of the most remarkable Events that ever happen'd in *Spain*, it is necessary to take Things somewhat particularly, and to make Mention of all the Circumstances that accompany'd it.

As the War which the King of *Aragon* made upon *Don Sancho* was wholly grounded upon the Pretensions he had to the Crown of *Navarre*, and that on the other Hand he was oblig'd to take up Arms against the Count of *Toulouse* in order to do himself Right in the Demands he made upon him, he might very easily have accommodated Matters with the *Navarrois*. But the Case was different in Regard to the King of *Castile*. This Prince pretended that the King of *Navarre* ought to restore to him all the Places he had taken during his Minority. *Don Sancho* reply'd, That those Places of Right belong'd to him, as Dependents upon his Crown, and of which the Kings of *Castile* had unjustly made themselves Masters during the Anarchy in that State occasion'd by the tragical Death of the King *Don Sancho de Peñalen*. And as these reciprocal Pretensions were to be decided according to Justice and Equity, it was agreed to make the King of *England* Arbiter of the Dispute, and that their Cause should be judg'd by his Council; and for Security of their Words, the King of *Castile* put into the Hands of Three *Navarrois* Noblemen the Cities of *Najara*, *Arnedo*, and *Zelorigo*, and the King of *Navarre* put into the Possession of Three Noble *Castilians* those

of *Estela*, *Funes*, and *Marañon*, upon Condition that he who refus'd to acquiesce to the King of *England's* Decision should forfeit the cautionary Towns.

According to this Agreement, the Kings of *Castile* and *Navarre* dispatch'd away their Embassadors to *England*, with necessary Instructions and Power to alledge their respective Rights and Pretensions. The *Castilian* Embassador was one *Mathew*, whom *Roger Hoveden* makes Bishop of *Palencia*; but as by some Privileges mention'd by *Dr. Ferreras* in the Fifth Tome of his *Critical History of Spain*, it is proved, that *Mathew* was not Bishop of *Palencia* at that Time, *Hoveden* must needs be mistaken. The Bishop of *Pamplona* went on the King of *Navarre's* Part.

When the Embassadors, accompany'd by a great Number of Noblemen, were arriv'd in *England*, King *Henry* the Second, who then fill'd the *British* Throne, appointed the First Sunday in *Lent* for the Opening of the Congress, to which he summon'd all the most learned Men of his Realm to consult them in this Affair. Each Embassador laid forth his Right, after which King *Henry* summ'd up and examined the Suffrages of all the Prelates and Lords of the Assembly, and pronounc'd this Sentence: "That the King of *Navarre* should restore to the King of *Castile* the Places of *Logroño*, *Navarrete*, *Autol*, and *Ausejo*; and that the King of *Castile* should restore to the King of *Navarre* those of *Portilla* and *Leguin*, with the Castle of *Godin*; and that, for Ten Years he should pay him annually Ten Thousand *Maravedies*, which is a Coin in Value of about a Liard of French Money."

The



The Embassadors satisfy'd with this Decision, sign'd it, and return'd to *Spain* to have it confirm'd; but neither of the Parties concern'd would agree to ratify it, both the One and the Other pretending to have been injuriously dealt with. It does not, however, appear that they had Recourse to Arms again; and Two Years after, those Two Monarchs coming to an Interview between *Najara* and *Logroño*, they agreed, That the King of *Navarre* should deliver up to the Crown of *Castile* the Places of *Logroño*, *Entrena*, *Navarrete*, *Ausejo*, *Autol*, and *Ressa*, upon certain secret Conditions which never came to the Knowledge of any of the Historians; and that the King of *Castile* should relinquish to the Crown of *Navarre* those of *Leguin*, *Portilla*, *Godin*, and all the Places he was possess'd of in *Navarre*, after which they regulated the Limits which separate the Provinces of *Alaba* and *Biscay*.

1179.

Peace being concluded between those Two Princes, the King of *Navarre* disbanded his Army; and as his Troops had been accustomed to a Military Life, and found in themselves no Manner of Inclination to Work, they incorporated themselves with the *Vascons*, made an Irruption into *Guyenne*, and carry'd Fire and Sword as far as the Suburbs of *Bourdeaux*, which they plunder'd, and return'd laden with Booty.

1180.

While the King *Don Sancho* remain'd in perfect Peace with all his Neighbours, he employ'd himself in fortifying the Frontiers of his Realm; and as the Province of *Alaba* had not one Frontier Place strong enough to resist the *Castilians* in Case they had a Mind to make any Irruption into that Country, he

1181.

caus'd one to be built in a Place call'd *Gastiez*, to which he gave the Name of *Victoria*, to revive the Memory of a signal Victory he had gain'd over the *Moors* in that Place. It is at present the Capital of that Province, and one of the richest and most beautiful Cities in all *Spain*.

1188. Being assur'd that he had nothing to fear on the *Castilian* Side, with whom he liv'd in a perfect good Understanding, he sent to propose to *Don Alphonso* King of *Aragon* to confirm the Treaty of Peace which he had made with him in the Year 1176, to which that Prince the more willingly consented by Reason that he already had several Enemies up-

1189. on his Hands; and the Year following, in order to render that Peace the more solid, those Two Princes had an Interview at *Borja*, at which it was agreed between them, That the King of \**Leon* should deliver into the Hands of *Don Pedro Ruiz de Azagra*, Lord of *Albaracin*, the Places of *Borja*, *Malon*, *Sos*, *Ruesla*, and *Pitillas*; and that the King of *Navarre* should give up those of *Uxué*, *Valtierra*, *Ablitas*, *Monte Agudo*, and *Castillon de Sanguesa*, upon Condition that he who should offer to infringe upon, or violate the Treaty of Peace subsisting between them should forfeit those cautionary Towns.

1194. At last *Don Sancho* died on the Twenty Seventh of *June* this Year, after a glorious Reign of Forty Four Years, having govern'd his Realm with such Wisdom and Prudence that he merited the Surname of the *Sage*. He left by  
*Doña*

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\* This seems to have been mistaken for *Aragon*.

Book V.      *Revolutions in Spain.*      277

*Doña Sancha*, Daughter to *Don Alphonso* King of *Castile*, Three Sons and as many Daughters. The Eldest Son, nam'd *Don Sancho*, succeeded him and was solemnly proclaim'd. This was a Prince who came short of none of the Kings his Predecessors in Magnanimity and Conduct.

The Second Year of his Reign, he rais'd a powerful Army and went to the Assistance of *Don Alphonso* the Eighth, King of *Castile*, against *Tacob Ben Yusuf* King of *Cordoua*, who with the whole Force of *Africa* and *Andalusia* was making Preparations to pour in upon his Territories, and threaten'd all the *Christians* of *Spain* with utter Destruction. The Truth is, he did not render that Monarch all the Service he might have done him, by Reason that the King of *Castile*, impatient to engage with the *Barbarians*, would not wait his Coming at *Toledo* to join their Forces, which was the Occasion of his Defeat, as has been largely observ'd in the Third Book. Nay, it produced an Effect directly contrary to his good Intentions; for endeavouring to make that Prince sensible how much he had been to blame in not staying for him, his Zeal met with no better Recompence than a sharp and insulting Answer, whereat he was so stung, that he abruptly retir'd with his Troops, and broke into *Old-Castile*, which he laid waste with Fire and Sword, which so far disconcerted *Don Alphonso's* Measures, that he was forc'd to lay aside the Design he had of revenging himself upon the *Moorish* King, and to depart in all Diligence for *Burgos* to endeavour to remedy those Evils which his Ingratitude and Unpoliteness had brought upon him; and proud and haughty as he was, he thought himself very



1196. happy that the King of *Navarre* would condescend to grant him a Suspension of Arms that he might have Time to put himself in a Condition to repulse the *Moors*, who, elated and grown insolent with their last Year's Victory, continu'd their Hostilities against him with the utmost Rigour.

It is pretended, That, in Prejudice of that Agreement, the King *Don Sancho* endeavour'd to enter into an Alliance with *Tacob Ben Tusouf*, King of *Cordoua*, in order to strengthen himself, and to put his Affairs in a Condition to be able to oppose the Kings of *Castile* and *Aragon*, by whom he fear'd he should not fail of being insulted as soon as ever they were in a Posture of attempting any Thing against him. Nay, *Ambrosio Morales* produces a Letter of Pope *Celestine* the Third's, directed to this Prince, dated the Twenty Eight of *March*, this Year, by which his Holiness exhorts him not to make an Alliance so fatal and destructive to the *Christian* Religion, and which would be so injurious to his own Character and Reputation. It is true the *Navarrois* Historians deny this Fact: But *Hoveden* affirms, That *Tacob Ben Tusouf* sent Embassadors to the King *Don Sancho*, and that he not only offer'd to enter into a Confederacy with him, but likewise to give him his Daughter in Marriage, and to assign him for her Dowry all the Dominions he was possess'd of in *Spain*. What we shall presently observe will sufficiently justify the Sentiment of *Hoveden*, and will make appear that those Historians who deny this Circumstance are, either thro' Ignorance or willful Tergiversation, very much in the Wrong. For notwithstanding the  
King

King of *Navarre* sent the Bishop of *Pamplona* to *Rome* the following Year, to clear him, with the Sovereign Pontiff, of the Reproach his Holiness had made him, and that he receiv'd from him a most obliging *Brief* or *Bull*, which the same *Morales* likewise gives us, it is certain that this Prince still held a secret Correspondence with *Tacob Ben Yusuf*, and the *Almohade* Princes, and that in short, allur'd by the great Advantages the King of *Morocco* offer'd him with his Daughter, he privately pass'd over into *Africa* to conclude his Marriage, leaving the Government of his Realm to the Bishop of *Pamplona* and some other Noblemen of whose Fidelity he was well assur'd. But at his Arrival there, he found the Face of Affairs intirely chang'd. *Tacob Ben Yusuf* dying some few Days before, *Mahomet Ben Tacob* his Son had taken Possession of the Throne; and as this his Successor more greedily thirsted after Riches and Renown than any Prince existing, and as the Empire of *Africa* and *Spain* was nothing too vast to satisfy his Avarice and Ambition, he would by no Means stand to the Conditions the King of *Navarre* had made with his Father. This was not all: For, apprehensive lest *Don Sancho's* Resentment (he being touch'd to the Quick at the Refusal he made him) might induce him to unite with the *Christian* Princes at his Return to *Spain*, he retain'd him at his Court, under Pretext of furnishing him with a glorious Opportunity of winning Honour by giving him the Command of an Army to reduce several *Grandeas* who were in Rebellion against him, of all which Rebels one *Tabia* was the Chief, and the most formidable. *Don Sancho* would wil-

1197.

lingly have dispens'd with that Honour; but he was not the Master there to do what he would: Infomuch that making a Virtue of Necessity, he accepted, with a good Grace, the Command was offer'd him, and gain'd great Advantages over the Revolters, of which Exploits we shall not enter into a Detail by Reason of the small Relation they have to the Subject we have propos'd to treat of.

1199.

The Kings of *Castile* and \* *Aragon*, who for a long Time had waited only for a plausible Pretext to declare War against the King of *Navarre* without being suspected to have infringing'd or violated the Treaty of Peace they had settled with that Prince, had no sooner receiv'd Intelligence of his having left his Kingdom and pass'd over to *Mauritania* in order to espouse the Daughter of *Tacob Ben Tusouf*, but they caus'd a Rumour to be spread, That he had abjur'd the *Christian* Religion to embrace the *Mahometan* Sect, or, at least, that his Design was to enter into an Alliance with an *Infidel* Prince against the *Christian* Potentates of *Spain*, and immediately they made a League Offensive and Defensive against him. The King of *Aragon* soon after broke into *Navarre*, and made himself Master of *Aybar*, *Bargui*, and some other small Places which stood conveniently for his Purpose, after which Expedition he put his Troops into Winter Quarters.

The King of *Castile* enter'd the Province of *Alaba*, took *Miranda*, with several other Places of less Consequence, and laid Siege to *Victoria*.

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\* Here it is *Leon* again, which cannot be right.



*Victoria.* But that City was so strongly fortified, so well provided with all Necessaries, and so vigorously defended by the Garrison and its own Inhabitants, that whatever Efforts he made to reduce it he could never gain his Aim; insomuch that he resolv'd to obtain by Famine what he despair'd of reducing by Force of Arms. Instead of those daily most terrible Assaults which had been constantly repuls'd with incredible Valour, he now minded nothing but how to prevent the Besieged from receiving either Provisions or Recruits, which at last reduc'd them to such Misery, that they sent him Deputies to demand a Suspension of Hostilities, that they might advise their King *Don Sancho* of the Condition they were in, and promising, that if within the Time to be agreed upon they were not succour'd, they would then surrender the Place. The King granted their Request, and immediately thereupon *Don Garcia* Bishop of *Pamplona*, and Regent of the Kingdom, went over to *Africa* to inform his Sovereign of what was transacted, and to know his Resolution. *Don Sancho* would most willingly have preserv'd that Place; but easily comprehending by the Prelate's Manner of relating Matters, that in the melancholy Situation of Affairs it would be no better than a fruitless Obstinacy to persist in endeavouring its Defence, he gave Orders to the Bishop to deliver it into the King of *Castile's* Hands as soon as he should reach *Spain*, which Orders he most punctually executed. The Loss of *Victoria* was follow'd by the Reduction of the whole Province of *Alaba*, of that of *Biscay*, and of *Guipuzcoa*, which ever since that Time have been united to the Crown of

of *Castile*, without its ever having been in the Power of the Kings of *Navarre* to recover them notwithstanding the many Attempts they have made to that Purpose.

How great soever was the Honour which the King of *Navarre* had won in *Africa* in fighting against the Enemies of *Mahomet Ben Jacob*, that Voyage was considerably detrimental both to his Reputation and his Interest, upon Account of the scandalous Reports his Enemies spread abroad in the World, and the Progress they made upon his Dominions, which lay, as we may term it, expos'd to the first Invader. Nevertheless, as he was inferior to none of his Ancestors in Valour and Conduct, he re-establish'd his distracted Affairs at his Return, and in the divers Wars wherein he was engag'd, now with the *Castilians*, anon with the *Aragonians*, and sometimes with both those Powers at once, he defended himself with a Resolution and Constancy worthy of immortal Praise, and distinguish'd himself in all the Engagements in which he was present, as well when he fought against the *Christian* Princes as against the *Infidels*, especially at the Battle of *Muradal*, where he forc'd the Camp of the *Emir El Moumineen* of *Africa*, who had intrench'd himself with prodigious Chains of Iron, too weak a Barrier to stop the Impetuosity of this vigorous Prince. It is pretended, That ever since that memorable Action, the Kings of *Navarre* have taken for their Arms a *Circumference* squar'd with *Iron Chains*.

As to the rest, this Prince, so formidable to his Enemies, had the unspeakable Mortification of living to see his whole Family become extinct, and, at his Death, of leaving his

his Crown to a strange House! This Misfortune had by so much the deeper Impression upon his Soul as there was scarce any Probability of its coming to pass, by Reason that he had, by his Queen *Doña Constanza*, the Count of *Toulouse's* Daughter, a Son, nam'd *Don Ferdinand*, who had attain'd the Fifteenth Year of his Age. He had likewise Two Brothers, *Don Ferdinand* and *Don Ramiro*, both which were Princes of extraordinary Hopes and Merit. The first he had taken to assist him in bearing the Burthen of the Government, and the other had been nam'd to the Bishoprick of *Pamplona*. He lost them all Three, as we may say, suddenly. The *Infante Don Ferdinand* his Brother, as he was running his Horse at a Turnament, arm'd at all Points, had the Misfortune to lose his Life by a very surprizing and extraordinary Accident. A Hog, breaking loose from its Sty, came running and got under his Horse's Legs, at which that Creature was so startled, that, curvetting and bounding, he threw his Rider, and with the Fall the *Infante's* Head struck against a Stone Pillar, and he was so violently bruised all over, that he died on the Thirteenth Day after, at Thirty Years of Age. The Prince *Don Ferdinand*, his Son, died by an Accident not unlike this; for riding out a hunting, and giving Chase to a Bear, his Horse made a false Step, threw him, and he died of that Fall. Lastly, the only remaining Prince of his Family, who was *Don Ramiro* Bishop of *Pamplona*, died before him; so that in order to give the Crown a Successor Recourse was to be had to the King's Sisters.

1230.

He



He had Three, viz. *Doña Berenguela*, who had marry'd *Richard* the First, King of *England*, and died without Issue; *Doña Teresa*, who was still a Virgin; and *Doña Blanca*, who marry'd *Thibaud* Count of *Champagne*, and had been a Widow from the Year 1201, having a Son by that Count, born after his Decease, to whom she gave his Father's Name. All the World expected, that the *Infanta Doña Teresa*, by espousing a *Spanish* Prince, would have prevented the Kingdom's falling under a foreign Yoke; but to compleat the Misfortune, that Princess likewise died before they could marry her; insomuch that the Crown of *Navarre* directly pointed to the young *Thibaud*, Count of *Champagne* and *Brie*, Son to *Doña Blanca*, the King's Third Sister.

1231.

The mortal Affliction with which *Don Sancho* was oppress'd to behold his Family become extinct before his Death, touch'd him so to the Quick, that it cast him into so deep a Melancholy, that it degenerated into a Kind of Frenzy which nothing was capable of appeasing: And an Ulcer which broke out in one of his Feet render'd him so insupportable both to himself and others, that he left the Court, and shut up, or rather bury'd himself alive in an old Castle at *Tudela*, never more shew'd himself to his Subjects, and became so odious and contemptible to them, that the Count of *Champagne*, having Intelligence of their Discontent, made Parties and Cabals to get the Government into his Hands, and to obtain the Regency of a King who seem'd to have abandon'd the Administration of the Realm's Affairs to Chance.

Don

*Don Sancho*, notwithstanding he was immur'd in his ruined Castle, was not unacquainted with every individual Step his Nephew was making, and was so incens'd at his Proceedings, that he sent for *Don Jayme* the First, King of *Aragon*, to *Tudela*, and concluded a Treaty with him, whereby he appointed that Prince for his Successor. From that Time forwards he did nothing but languish and pine away, and died Two Years after, little regretted by his Subjects.

1232.

1234.

*Don Jayme* King of *Aragon* us'd his Endeavours to possess himself of the Kingdom of *Navarre*; but the Count of *Champagne*, by his great Vigilance, disconcerted all his Measures, and prevented him from enjoying the Fruits of the Treaty which he had made with *Don Sancho*, surnam'd the \* *Recluse*, upon Account of his Retirement in the Castle of *Tudela*, a Surname incomparably less glorious to his Memory than that of the *Strong*, which he had acquir'd at the Beginning of his Reign.

The first Royal House of *Navarre* became extinct in *Don Sancho*, and his Nephew *Thibaud* the First, began the Branch of *Champagne*, which continued Sixty Years. He govern'd his Realm peaceably enough. He was surnam'd the *Posthumous*, by Reason of his being born after his Father's Death; he was likewise call'd the *Architect*, for the great Inclination he had for Architecture. He died at *Pamplona* in the Month of *July*, this Year, having solely employ'd himself

1253.

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\* The French Word is *L'Enfermè*, which will bear a Double Entendre; it also signifying One who has a musty, frowzy smell about him, and perhaps alludes to the Stench of the ulcerous Sore on his Foot.

himself in building his several Palaces. The Princess *Doña Blanca*, his Mother, who had assum'd the Title of Queen of *Navarre* to transmit the Name of King to her Son, died the same Year. *Don Thibaud* the First left Two Sons, *Don Thibaud* the Second, and *Don Henry* the First, who were both, successively, Kings of *Navarre*.

*Don Thibaud* the Second began his Reign under the Tutelage of the Queen *Doña Margareta de Foix*, his Mother, being but Fourteen Years of Age. His Reputation amongst his Subjects was not very great, being oblig'd to do Homage for his Realm to the Crown of *Castile*. His Reign pass'd in several Voyages and Journies which he made into *France* and *Africa*, whither he accompany'd the French King *Lewis* the Ninth, whose Daughter, *Isabella de France*, he had marry'd. He had no Children, and died at *Trapani*, in the Island of *Sicily*, as he was returning from the *Tunis* Expedition.

1271.

*Don Henry* the First of the Name, whom he had appointed Vice-Roy, or Regent during his Absence, succeeded him; an imperious, haughty Prince, of a violent, untractable Disposition, who never got the Affections of his Subjects. He was marry'd to *Jane*, Daughter to *Robert* the First, Count *D'Artois*, Brother to King *Lewis* the Ninth; a Princess whose Merit was nothing inferior to her high Descent. By her *Don Henry* had Two Children, *Don Thibaud* and *Doña Juána*.

1273.

The Prince, already arriv'd to Five or Six Years of Age, was brought up at *Estela*, and the Hopes of the whole Kingdom were center'd in him. It happen'd that as his Tutor was  
one



one Day playing with him in the Palace, he let him fall from the Rails of a Gallery, of which Fall the young Prince immediately died, and the unfortunate Preceptor, seiz'd with Despair, could not forgive himself that imprudent and unhappy Action, but precipitated himself into the Court after his Pupil, and scarce surviv'd him a Moment.

The King pierc'd to the very Quick at so irreparable a Misfortune, and feeling himself unable to survive it, assembled the States of his Realm, and made them take the Oaths of Allegiance to the *Infanta Doña Juána*, who was no more than Two Years old. Soon after this he died at *Pamplona*; and his Death plung'd the Kingdom of *Navarre* into all the Calamities that had been foreseen. All the neighbouring Princes were extremely desirous of the young Queen's Alliance, and till it could be concluded, they demanded the Regency of the Kingdom. The Queen Mother, a *French-Woman* both by Birth and Inclination, carry'd her Daughter into *France*, and conducted her to the Court of King *Philip* the Third, who caus'd her to be educated with his own Children. The Kingdom being now without a Head, was become a Prey to the neighbouring Potentates, and to the most powerful of the *Grande*s. The King of *France* sent thither, in Quality of Vice-Roy, *Eustache de Bellemarche*, who was at first receiv'd and afterwards expell'd by the whole Nation. *Charles D'Artois* the Queen's Cousin-Germain re-establish'd a Calm in the State with an armed Power, and by that Time the young Queen had reach'd her Fourteenth Year, all the Factions and Divisions were vanish'd. Her Mother then marry'd

1274.

1275.

1276.

1285. ry'd her to *Philip*, Eldest Son to *Philip* the Third, King of *France*. By this Alliance the Royal Family of *France* came to the Possession of the Crown of *Navarre* after the House of *Champagne*.

*Philip* likewise succeeded his Father in the Throne of *France*, and govern'd *Navarre* by Vice-Roys. The Queen his Consort, whose Beauty and Inclination to all polite Learning have render'd her so highly celebrated in the World; died in the Flower of her Age. Among several other Children, she left Three Sons, *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*. Her Eldest Son *Lewis* did not immediately assume the Name of King, but only intitled himself *Heir* to the Crown of *Navarre*. Having resided there Two Years after 1307. his Mother's Decease, at the Intercession of his Subjects he was crown'd at *Pamplona*, being then Sixteen Years of Age. This Prince marry'd *Margaret*, Daughter to *Robert* Duke of *Burgundy*, who soon after brought him a Daughter to whom they gave her Grand-mother's Name, and call'd her *Doña Juána*. The King of *Navarre* had no other Children by that Princess, because her irregular Conduct afterwards oblig'd him to divorce her.

*Lewis* inherited the Crown of *France* from his Father, King *Philip* the Fourth, and enjoy'd it but Two Years. His Death dispos'd 1314. the People's Minds to some fatal Revolution, which nothing suspended but Queen *Clemence* his Wife's being with Child. If she happen'd to bring forth a Son, there was no Doubt but that the Crowns of *France* and *Navarre* were his incontestable Right; but if not, they intended to regulate the respective Rights of the Pretenders to those Realms. *Philip* Count of *Poitiers*,

*Poitiers*, the late King's Brother, by Virtue of the Fundamental Laws of *France*, which excludes the Females from inheriting the Crown, laid Claim to the Succession. The *Navarrois*, who knew nothing of the *Salique* Law, naturally call'd to their Throne *Jane de France*, Daughter to *Lewis Hutin*: But the Count of *Poitiers*, full of Ambition, pretended to extend the *Salique* Law even to *Navarre*. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Jane*, or *Doña Juána's* Grand-father, in Conjunction with the *Dauphin* of the *Viennois*, and the Count of *Nevers*, not only pretended that his Grand-daughter should inherit the Crown of *Navarre*, but likewise insisted that the *Salique* Law was no other than a Chimera, and that she ought to be Queen of *France*.



## REVOLUTION X.



ALL these Factions were dissipated upon the Queen's being brought to Bed of a Prince nam'd *John*, who was proclaim'd King of *France* and *Navarre*; but he liv'd but Eight Days, and his Death reviv'd the Divisions. The Count of *Poitiers* surmounted them all, and assum'd the Title of King of *France* and *Navarre*. The *Navarrois* look'd on upon that his Proceeding with an Eye of Indifference, whether it was that they were unwilling to embroil themselves with *France*, who had the Legitimate Heiress to their Crown in Possession,



sion, or whether they reflected upon the immature Age of that Princess, who was then but Ten Years old, or indeed whether they had it not too fresh in their Memory, that the Queen her Mother had been convicted of Adultery: But however it was, the whole Kingdom of *Navarre* acknowledg'd *Philip*, the Second of that Name, for King, and he reign'd peaceably till his Death, which happen'd this Year.

1322.



## REVOLUTION XI.



HE Count *de la Marche*, his Brother, immediately succeeded him to the Crown of *France*, and also took upon him the Name of King of *Navarre*, contrary to the Fundamental Laws of that Realm, which intitle the Females indifferently with the Males to the Throne: So that, according to the ordinary Institutions, *Jane de France*, or *Doña Juána*, the late King's Eldest Daughter, who had marry'd *Endes* Duke of *Burgundy*, should have succeeded her Father. No Account can be given by what indolent Supinity the *Navarrois*, accusom'd to obey the Kings of *France*, again submitted themselves to acknowledge for their Sovereign *Charles* the Fair, call'd by the French *Charles* the Fourth. Under this King's Reign, *Doña Juána*, or *Jane de France*, King *Lewis Hutin's* Daughter, with the Consent of *Charles* the Fair, marry'd *Philip* Count *D'Evreux*,

*reux*, a Prince of the Royal Blood of *France*. She was doubtless not ignorant of the lawful Pretensions she had to the Crown of *Navarre*: But the Weakness of the Husband had been given her, and the great Power of the Prince who had seiz'd her Inheritance, oblig'd her to continue silent. King *Charles* reign'd but Seven Years, and his Death caus'd new Troubles and Commotions in the Kingdoms of *France* and *Navarre*. 1328.

Queen *Blanche D'Evreux*, his Widow, perceiv'd herself to be with Child, and both Realms agreed to obey the Infant that should be born of her Body, in Case it prov'd a Son. In the mean while *Philip de Valois*, Grand-son to King *Philip the Bold*, was declar'd Regent. The Queen brought into the World a Daughter, and therefore, by Virtue of the *Salique Law*, *Philip* was acknowledg'd for King of *France*. As he had been Regent both of *France* and *Navarre*, he likewise intitled himself King of both those Realms. The *Navarrois*, who had suffer'd the Reigns of the Two last Kings in Consideration of their having been the Sons of their rightful Queen, did not find themselves at all dispos'd to suffer a strange Prince to sit upon their Throne. The States of the Realm assembled in a Body at *Pamplona*, and there Three several Persons were propos'd. The First was the new born *Infanta*, *Doña Blanche*, or *Blanca* the late King's Daughter. The Second was *Edward* King of *England*, Grand-son to their Queen *Doña Juána* the First, by her Daughter *Isabelle de France*. The Third was *Jane de France*, Daughter to King *Lewis Hutin*, and Wife to the Count *D'Evreux*, all Three descended from the Royal Family of

*Navarre.* Nature pleaded for *Doña Blanca*, nothing being so equitable as to put the Child in its Father's Place. *Dona Juana's* Partisans represented, That since she had been depriv'd of the Throne after the Death of King *Lewis* the First, it was but Justice to restore her to it. King *Edward's* Sex, and the great Hopes that Young Prince already gave the World, spoke loud enough in his Favour, besides his being in Possession of *Guyenne*, a Province bordering upon *Navarre*: But on the other Hand, the most clear-sighted of the *Navarrois* would have nothing to do with so powerful a King, but were rather inclin'd to have one whom they might oblige to act according to their Laws, and to maintain them in their Rights and Privileges.



## REVOLUTION XII.



RIGHT, Equity, and Reasons of State concurring in Favour of the Countess *D'Evreux*, she and her Husband were proclaim'd King and Queen of *Navarre* by the Assembly of the States at *Pamplona*, upon this whimsical and extravagant Condition, That as soon as they should have a Son past his Minority they should be oblig'd to relinquish the Throne to him. Immediately Four Noblemen of *Navarre* were deputed to carry this News into *France* to the Count and Countess, and to press them to hasten into their Kingdom to take Possession.



Possession of the Crown. They receiv'd this Message with all the Joy that is naturally to be conceiv'd upon such Occasions. King *Philip de Valois* at first would have oppos'd their Election; nevertheless, as he was a Prince that lov'd Equity, he soon desisted from his Enterprize, own'd them for Sovereigns of *Navarre*, and only, dexterously enough, engag'd them to exchange the Counties, or Earldoms of *Champagne* and *Brie*, which they possess'd with a sovereign Right, for some Lands belonging to *France* in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*, which lay very convenient for the Crown of *Navarre*.

The King and Queen went to *Pamplona* where they were consecrated and crown'd. They, without the least Scruple or Hesitation, sign'd every Condition requir'd of them, nor did they deceive the Expectations of their Subjects, who had flatter'd themselves with the Enjoyment of a profound Tranquillity under their Administration. They gave Rise to the Fourth Royal House of *Navarre*, call'd *D'Evreux*, the Succession whereof was never interrupted by any Revolution. The King *Don Philip* died in the Month of *September*, this Year, at *Xeres* in *Andalusia*, whither he had been oblig'd to cause himself to be convey'd from the Camp before *Algezira*, which he had besieg'd in Conjunction with *Don Alphonso* the Eleventh, King of *Castile*. His Body was carry'd to *Pamplona*, whither the Year following the Corps of the Queen, *Jane de France*, his Consort, who died in *France*, was likewise transported.

He was succeeded by his Eldest Son *Don Carlos*; a Prince, whom, to the Misfortune of *France*, Nature had endow'd with all the

1329.

1345.

1346.

1386.

Wit, Sense, Address, Capacity, and Eloquence of the greatest Men; but he was otherwise deceitful, unsincere, cruel, and ambitious: Qualities which got him the Surname of the *Wicked*. It has no Manner of Relation to our Subject in Hand to relate the Troubles and Disorders he occasion'd in *France*, at King *John's* Court, notwithstanding he was marry'd to *Jane de France*, that Prince's Eldest Daughter. He govern'd his own State with the same turbulent Disposition with which he disturb'd those of his Neighbours, his Thoughts tending to nothing but how to advance himself at the Expence of others, and to sow Divisions in every Court. He died this Year, at the Age of Fifty Five Years. His Constitution being very much impair'd by his Debauches and irregular Course of Life, the Physicians prescrib'd that he should be wrapp'd in a Sheet dipp'd in *Aqua Vita*; and one of his Attendants coming too near with a lighted Candle, the Sheet took Fire in an Instant, and burn'd the King so grievously that he surviv'd it but a few Days.

*Charles* the Second, surnam'd the *Noble*, his Son, succeeded him, and practis'd as many Virtues as his Father had shew'd Vices. His Reign was attended with all the Prosperity might be expected. He marry'd *Doña Leonora*, Daughter to *Don John* the First, King of *Castile*, whose Extravagancies and capricious Humours often disturb'd his Quiet. He had by her a numerous Issue, but the Truth is, the Blessing of Heaven seem'd not to follow his Posterity, since, after this Prince, almost all the Kings of *Navarre* were in continual Agitations. The *Infantes* *Don Carlos* and *Don Lewis*,

*Lewis*, his Two only Sons, died the same Year. Fourteen Years after, the Queen, and the *Infanta Doña Juána* her Daughter, who had marry'd *John de Foix*, but had no Children by him, died a few Days Distance from each other. The Succession of the Realm regarded *Doña Blanca*, the King's Second Daughter, who was at that Time Widow to *Don Martin de Aragon*, King of *Sicily*. She had till now taken up her Residence in that Island, where the Rank she had held render'd her highly respected and intitled her to a very large Dowry. Finding herself call'd to the Succession of the Crown of *Navarre*, she hasten'd to return to *Pamplona*, and some Time after she marry'd *Don John*, *Infante* of *Aragon*, Duke of *Moublanc*, Brother to *Don Alphonso* the Fifth, King of *Aragon*. The *Infanta* Queen had for her Dowry Four Hundred and Twenty Thousand *Florins* of Gold, and in her Marriage Contract was inserted a Clause, which occasion'd the Twelfth Revolution of *Navarre*. It was, "That the *Infante* of *Aragon*, after the Decease of the King *Don Carlos*, should be proclaim'd King of *Navarre* in his Wife's Right, and should enjoy the Crown not only during the Life of that Princess, but even after her Death, and as long as the *Infante* himself should live;" a Clause which was not ratify'd by the States, perhaps, because it was directly opposite to the Laws and Constitutions of the Realm, which appoint, That the Eldest Off-spring of their Queens shall enjoy the Throne due to their Birth as soon as they have attain'd the Age of Twenty Years, as was practis'd in Regard to the Queen *Doña Juána*,

1402.



the Second of that Name, and *Don Philip* the Third, upon their Accession to the Crown.

1421. The *Infanta* Queen was deliver'd of a Son, to whom they gave his Grand-father's Name. The whole Kingdom express'd excessive great Joy at his Birth. He was but Two Years old when the Assembly of the States at *Pamplona* acknowledg'd him for Heir to the Realm. The King, in his Favour, erected the City of *Viana* into a Principality, and affected that all the Heirs to the Crown should bear the Title of *Prince of Viana*. He did not long survive that Ceremony, dying suddenly at the City of *Olite* in the Month of *September*, this Year.

1425. *Don John* the *Infante* of *Aragon* was proclaim'd King of *Navarre* in his Brother the King of *Aragon's* Camp, whither he had conducted some Troops. This Prince, with the Queen his Consort, were crown'd at *Pamplona* this Year; and as long as that Princess liv'd, he reign'd peaceably enough in *Navarre*, and only made an Expedition into *Castile* against the King *Don John* the Second, who insensibly despoil'd him of the Lands he possess'd in that Realm. The Death of the Queen *Doña Blanca*, which happen'd this Year, was the Original of the Disorders in the State. She left the King Three Children, *Don Carlos* Prince of *Viana*, whom we have already mention'd, *Doña Blanca* and *Doña Leonora*, all Three marriageable.

1442. The Prince of *Viana* had reach'd his Twenty First Year, the full Age appointed by the Laws to ascend the Throne. That it was his incontestable Right no Body offer'd to dispute, since the King *Don John* wore the Crown only as Husband to the Queen *Doña Blanca*; and

and *Don Carlos*, as to the rest, was endow'd with those excellent Talents which render Princes the Delight of their People. What was least of all to be valu'd and admir'd in him, was his being the most beautiful and best shap'd Prince of his Age. Besides those Personal Perfections, he was courteous, affable, brave, generous, magnificent, sincere, and in every Respect a Man of the strictest Honour. He was a great Lover of polite Literature, and apply'd himself to it; he had a good Taste of Poetry, made tolerable Pieces himself, and employ'd his leisure Time in translating the Works of the Philosophers, or in leaving to Posterity the History of the Kings his Predecessors. The *Navarrois*, charm'd with so many Virtues, beheld this Prince with an Eye of Jealousy, and never thought they could soon enough have him for their Sovereign.

Upon the Queen's Death, the Prince did not want ambitious Counsellors to represent to him, that the Kingdom belong'd to him, and that, according to the Laws of the Realm, *Don John* could not any longer lay Claim to the Title of King. *Don Carlos* stopp'd their Mouths by causing them to call to Mind, that the Prince who sat upon the Throne was his Father. In Effect, he redoubled his Love and Respect towards him. The King's Heart was not so sensibly touch'd by the Prince's Submissions, but that he reflected with Anguish upon the Right he had to the Crown of *Navarre*, and sought to open a Door would put him in a Condition to oppose his Son, in Case he should not continue to shew him the same Obedience and Deference. With this View, he marry'd the Two *Infantas* his Daughters; *Doña Blanca*,

*Blanca*, the Eldest, to *Don Enrique*, Prince of *Asturias*, the King of *Castile's* Eldest Son, and *Doña Leonora*, the Other, to *Gaston*, Count of *Foix* and *Bearn*, both Neighbours to *Navarre*, and capable of introducing foreign Forces into that Kingdom in Case of Necessity.

1445. A Third Marriage did the King more Harm than all the Advantages the Two foregoing ones would procure him could ever possibly counterpoize. He marry'd himself, espousing *Doña Juana Enriquez*, Daughter to the *Almirante* of *Castile*, a Princess descended from *Don Alphonso* the Eleventh, King of *Castile*, a celebrated Beauty, of a sprightly Genius, but haughty, ambitious, and capable of running all Lengths to attain her Ends. The *Navarrois* beheld this Alliance with great Regret. It was not without Difficulty that they gave the Title of Queen to this Princess, who, in their Opinions, could not receive it from a Prince who was their King only upon Toleration. Soon perceiving the Disdain in which the *Navarrois* held her, she conceiv'd a very great Indignation against them, and her ill Humour extended even to the Prince of *Viana*, who was the innocent Cause of the People's Strangeness and Aversion to her.

1452. This Year she prov'd with Child, and her having brought the King a Son, nam'd *Don Ferdinand*, was the Occasion of fresh Divisions. Her Thoughts ran upon nothing but her Son's Advancement; and the People who attentively observ'd every Step she took, condemn'd all those that were ever so little prejudicial to the Interest of the Prince of *Viana*.

The King had very large Possessions both in *Castile* and *Aragon*; and being frequently oblig'd



oblig'd to go thither, he, this Year, left the Regency of the Kingdom to the Queen and Prince with joint Authority. The Nobility beheld with Chagrin a *Foreigner* (for they never gave that Princess any other Name) interfering in the State Government. *Lewis de Beaumont*, Count of *Lerin*, Grand Constable of the Realm, was the most zealous of all in exciting the Prince to maintain his Rights, and to defend their Privileges. He never ceased representing to him, That *Don John de Aragon* was not their King but by having espous'd their Queen, and that since that Princess was dead, he ought to remit the Crown into the Hands of her Son, upon whom his Mother's Right was devolv'd. 1453.

The Queen, on her Side, gave too much Way to her Hatred, and not knowing how to dissemble, express'd, both against the Prince and the Nobility, a very high Resentment. The Prince, who truly lov'd his Father, and endeavour'd to avoid coming to the last Extremities, frequently pacify'd those repeated Complaints of the Constable, and endur'd the Haughtiness of his insulting Mother-in-Law with extreme Moderation and Sweetness of Temper. But whether it was that she carry'd her Imperiousness too far, or, as some say, that the Nobility threaten'd to elect a new King, he, at last, determin'd to represent to the King his Father, "That the People could no longer  
 " endure to see themselves govern'd by a Fo-  
 " reign Princess with a more despotick Power  
 " than their own natural Kings were ever ac-  
 " custom'd to exercise over them: That his  
 " Birth oblig'd him to protect them; and that  
 " he intreated his Majesty to grant them a  
 " De- 1454.

“ Demand so reasonable: Adding, That if his  
 “ Majesty refus’d to comply with his Request,  
 “ he should be oblig’d to join with those same  
 “ People to put a Stop to the Queen’s Pro-  
 “ ceedings,”

The King incens’d at so free a Remonstrance, easily perceiv’d that the Nation was weary of seeing him himself upon the Throne. He made Use of none but violent Remedies, and not only maintain’d the Queen in the Regency, but also, in order to divide *Navarre*, and to make a Party for himself, he took away the Sword of Grand Constable from the Count of *Lerin* and gave it to the Count of *Grammont*, that Nobleman’s irreconcilable Enemy.



## REVOLUTION XIII.

1456.



HIS Manner of Proceeding brought the Prince’s Partisans to a Resolution. They publish’d abroad, “ That they had already too long  
 “ receiv’d Laws from Two Foreign-  
 “ ers whom Injustice alone had seat-  
 “ ed upon the Throne, and that it was high  
 “ Time to restore the Crown to its rightful  
 “ Owner.” At the same Time all the Provinces rose up in Arms, and every one gave the Title of *King* to *Don Carlos*. The Truth is, that Prince, out of Respect to his Father, declin’d it, but he assum’d that of *Regent*, made sure of all the Fortresses, and govern’d the  
 State

State with all the Authority of the Kings his Predecessors.

*Don John*, who in *Castile* and *Aragon* was possess'd of Cities and Lands of a very great Extent, and who had found Means, in *Navarre*, to engage the powerful Family of *Grammont* in his Interest, rais'd an Army to re-establish himself on the Throne. He had several small Engagements which decided nothing. The Battle of *Aviar* put an End to the Prosperity of *Don Carlos*; he was defeated in Spite of all his Efforts, and taken Prisoner, valiantly fighting. He was conducted to *Tafalla*, where the King went to see him, and omitted nothing to engage him to renounce his Rights. The Prince affected more Steadiness and Resolution in a Prison than he had done upon the Throne. A few Days after the Count of *Lerin* obtain'd of the King, that the Prince should be set at Liberty, and that he should remain in Hostage near his Majesty's Person. The King, who thought to gain the Prince and his Party by that Condescension, found himself very much deceiv'd in his Expectations.







## REVOLUTION XIV.

1457.



HE *Navarrois* again took to their Arms with far greater Fury than before, and oblig'd the Prince to put himself at their Head. Fortune a Second Time declar'd against them; the Prince lost another Bat-

tle at *Estela*, and tir'd out with being the Object of his Mother-in-Law's Hatred, and of the Designs of the Factious, he left *Navarre*, and pass'd into *Italy* to his Uncle *Don Alphonso*, King of *Aragon*, who was in the Kingdom of *Naples* which he had lately conquer'd: So that the Partisans of *Don Carlos*, being now without a Leader, were forc'd to return to the King's Obedience, but their Hearts were still ever ready to foment new Disturbances.

1458.

The King of *Aragon* undertook to reconcile the Prince with his Father: He had a tender Affection for his Nephew, and was charm'd with his admirable Qualities: But the Death of this Monarch prevented him from accomplishing that Accommodation. He died at *Naples*, and divided his Succession into Two Parts. He left the First, which he had inherited from his Ancestors, to his Brother *Don John*, King of *Navarre*. That Dividend consisted of *Aragon*, *Catalonia*, *Valencia*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and *Sicily*. The Second, for which he was alone indebted to his own Valour, he bequeath'd to *Don Ferdinand*, his natural Son: This was the

Crown

Crown of *Naples*. Neither his Ministers, nor the *Neapolitans* were satisfy'd with this Disposition. The Prince of *Viana* was then at *Naples*, and they offer'd to acknowledge him for their Sovereign. *Don Carlos* was nothing dazzled at that Turn of Fortune. He bore a Respect to the Will of a Monarch who had honour'd him with his Friendship, call'd to Mind that his Dominions had serv'd him for a Sanctuary, and thought it would be but an ill Recompence for that Prince's Bounties to despoil his Son of his Inheritance. He was, therefore, the First to own the young *Don Ferdinand* for King of *Naples*, and from thence he pass'd over to *Sicily*, where, to the Title of Prince of *Viana* he added that of Prince of *Girona*, which was the Quality of the presumptive Heir to the Crown of *Aragon*.

The King of *Navarre*, being now King of *Aragon*, and of the other Crowns thereunto annex'd, was press'd and importun'd by his new Subjects to accommodate Matters with the Prince his Son, whom they no less doated upon than did the *Navarrois* themselves. The King consented to their Desires, and that Prince came to pay his Respects to his Father at *Barcelona*. The States of *Catalonia* became the Mediators and Guarantees of this Reconciliation. However it did not remove from the Bottoms of some Hearts the Sources of Discontent: The King could not efface from his Memory that his Son had attempted to reduce him to a private Life: The Queen beheld with Grief and Despair, that Five Crowns, which had newly fallen to her Husband, were all destin'd to the Prince of *Viana*, the Object of her greatest Aversion, and that her dearly beloved Son

1459.  
*Don*

*Don Ferdinand*, who was call'd Duke of *Momblanc*, must be only his Brother's Vassal. The Prince, on his Side, had it continually before his Eyes, that his Father, now become Sovereign of so many Realms, unjustly withheld from him the Crown of *Navarre*, his Mother's Inheritance.

While Affairs stood thus, the King propos'd Marriage to his Son, and would have had him espouse the *Infanta* of Portugal, *Doña Catarina*, Sister to *Don Alphonso* the Fifth. The Prince declin'd this Alliance, because he was, underhand, negotiating a Marriage with the *Infanta* of Castile, *Doña Isabella*, Sister to *Don Enrique* the Fourth, who offer'd the Prince all his Forces to establish him on the Throne of *Navarre*. The King was inform'd of this Negatiation by the *Almirante*, his Father-in-Law, and was so incens'd thereat, that, notwithstanding the States were then assembled at *Lerida*, and the Prince was there upon the Faith of the whole Senate, which is inviolable, he caus'd him to be arrested, and carry'd Prisoner to *Miravet*.



REVOLUTION





## REVOLUTION XV.



WE shall not give an exact Account of the Consequences of this Circumstance, since we shall speak of them in the *Revolutions of Aragon*, which they more particularly concern. It is now sufficient to say, That upon the Rumour of the Prince's Imprisonment, *Don John's* whole Dominions were in an Uproar, but more particularly the *Navarrois*, who refus'd any longer to acknowledge him for their King, and took up Arms to oblige him to set *Don Carlos* at Liberty. *Don John* was forc'd to release the Prince, and even to put him in Possession of the Principality of *Catalonia*, by which Means all was pacify'd, and *Navarre* again reduc'd to obey *Don John*. But soon after, the Realm was afflicted with the terrible News of the Prince of *Viana's* Death, whose Days were thought to have been shorten'd by the Practises of his Mother-in-Law, by which cruel Blow the Hopes of so many Realms vanish'd into Air, and that excellent Prince died at the Age of Forty Years, without wearing a Crown.

1461.





## REVOLUTION XVI.



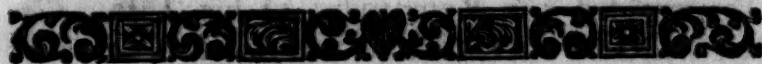
**H**IS Death did not intirely deliver the King his Father from all his Apprehensions. *Don Carlos* left Two Sisters, Heiresses to his Rights, and the People were dispos'd to maintain them. The Eldest *Doña Blanca* was the most beautiful Princess in the Universe, and it is doubted whether she might not be said to be likewise the most virtuous. She had been marry'd to *Don Enrique* the Fourth, King of *Castile*, who having had no Children, had attributed the Fault to that Princess, and, under Pretext of Sterility, had repudiated her. It was however publish'd throughout *Spain* that the King ought not to have imputed to any but to himself the Unfruitfulness of a Marriage which he had never been able to consummate; and the Virtue of this Princess was universally admir'd, who had never once offer'd to complain of the King's Insufficiency, and who rather chose to undergo the Shame had been put upon her, than to reveal that of her Husband. *Don John* was no Stranger to the Affection the People bore to that Princess, and that Affection render'd her odious to him. Fearing to see the Prince of *Viana* revive in her, the first Step he took was to make sure of her Person. When he had done that, he propos'd to *Gaston de Foix*, Captal de *Buch*, who had marry'd the Infanta *Doña Leonora*,

*Donora*, *Doña Blanca's* Younger Sister, to appoint him for his Heir, and even to put *Doña Blanca* into his Hands, upon Condition, that he would leave him the Enjoyment of the Crown of *Navarre* for the Remainder of his Life. *Gaston* was the most ambitious of all Men, and *Doña Leonora*, his Spouse had still a greater Thirst after a Throne than himself. They readily agreed to whatever the King desir'd. *Doña Blanca* was deliver'd up to them, and they shut her up in a dismal Castle where she scarce ever beheld the Light of the Day. There they oppress'd her with all the disagreeable Treatment imaginable, enough to drive her to Despair; so that this unhappy Princess, the Victim of a Throne to which she never once aspir'd, found in her Father, her Sister, and her Brother-in-Law, no other than Three merciless Executioners. 1462.

The King *Don John*, and *Gaston de Foix* did not long continue in a good Understanding with each other. *Gaston* was resolv'd to wear the Crown, and in Effect assum'd the Title of King, with the Concurrence of the States. *Don John's* only Recourse was Repentance for having committed an unprofitable Crime. It is true that *Gaston* the First dying this Year, *Don John* was nam'd Tutor or Guardian, to *Francis-Phebus*, Grand-son to *Gaston*. At length, *Don John*, after a very long, and most turbulent Reign, died, at the Age of Eighty Years, and his Daughter *Doña Leonora* remain'd Queen and Regent of *Navarre*. She had had by King *Gaston*, her Husband, an only Son, nam'd *Don Gaston*, Count of *Foix*, and Prince of *Viana*, who dying before his Father, had left by his Wife *Magdalen de France*, 1467. 1468. 1479.



Daughter to *Charles* the Seventh, King of *France*,  
Two Children, *Don Francis-Phebus*, and *Doña*  
*Catarina*, Infantes of *Navarre*.



## REVOLUTION XVII.

1481.



*ON Francis-Phebus* enjoy'd the Regal  
Dignity but Fifteen Months. His  
Death occasion'd a very great Dif-  
ference between the *Infanta Doña*  
*Catarina* his Sister, and *Don John*  
*de Foix*, Vicount of *Narbonne*, Youngest Son  
to King *Gaston* the First. He pretended to  
exclude his Niece, not only by Right of Sex,  
of which there had been Precedents enough in  
*Navarre*, but likewise upon Account of his ha-  
ving been born when *Don Gaston* his Father  
was King, whereas the *Infanta's* Father was  
only the Son of a Count of *Foix*. This Dif-  
ference, not unlike that which formerly had  
divided the Sons of *Darius* the Son of *Histaspes*,  
divided the whole Kingdom of *Navarre* into Fa-  
ctions, and was just ready to involve the State  
in a bloody Civil War. The States assembled  
at *Pamplona*, declar'd in Favour of the *Infanta*,  
and that Princess quite turn'd the Scale on her  
Side by marrying *John D'Albret*, Son to *Alain*  
Lord of *Albret*, who brought his Son and Daugh-  
ter-in-Law so powerful a Succour, that he intire-  
ly dissipated the Count of *Narbonne's* Faction.

REVOLUTION



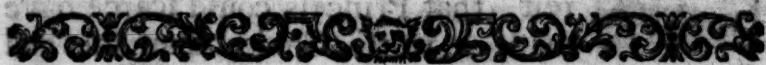
## REVOLUTION XVIII.



*Oña Catarina*, and her Consort *Don John D'Albret*, were crown'd with the usual Solemnities. As to the rest, that Princess could scarce have made a worse Choice than she had done. *John D'Albret* was born to be a very good private Man. He was of a mild, affable Disposition, was prudent, religious, and very easy to be wrought upon; but was otherwise weak, an Enemy to Business and Noise, of no very extraordinary Genius, and, in a Word, incapable of sustaining the Majesty of his Station. From hence it proceeded, that he became contemptible both to his Subjects and the Queen herself, as soon as they were acquainted with his Character. He made himself familiar with the Citizens of *Pamplona*, and by forgetting, in their Company, that he was their Sovereign, he caus'd them likewise to forget it. For several Centuries *Navarre* had been divided into Two powerful Parties which follow'd the Interests of the Houses of *Beaumont* and *Grammont*, both descending from Royal Blood. The Kings of *Navarre* had taken a particular Care to keep those Two Factions in an equal Ballance, and to be their Judges and Arbiters; and by those Methods they had maintain'd their Authority in its full Extent. *Don John* the Third took a quite contrary Method. He declar'd himself in Fa-

1490.

vour of the House of *Grammont*, and by that Conduct oblig'd the House of *Beaumont* to cast themselves into the Arms of *Don Ferdinand* the Catholick, a Prince who had already, either by Alliance or Conquest, united the Monarchies of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Granada*, and who perceiving such favourable Dispositions to make himself Master of that of *Navarre* also, did not let them slip.



## REVOLUTION XIX.

1512.



**H**E got together an Army of Thirty Thousand Men, and conceal'd from *Don John* the Peril he was in, by giving out, that he was going to send them into *Guyenne* to join the *English*, where King *Henry* the Eighth's Fleet was to disembark an Army, in order to take that Province from the *French*. At the Head of this Body of Forces he put *Don Frederic de Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, a Commander of great Merit and known Experience. This General advanc'd towards *Navarre* in the Month of *June*, and sent Two of the King *Don Ferdinand*'s Counsellors of State to demand of *Don John* a Passage thro' his Territories to go to *Guyenne*, and to desire him to deliver up, as cautionary Towns, the Places of *Cella*, *Estela*, and *San Juan del Pie de Puerto*, that he might establish Store-Houses and Magazins there for the



the Convenience of his Army in passing and re-passing, and to secure it from any Surprise.

The King and Queen of *Navarre* were then at *Tudela*, where they had conven'd the States of the Realm, to whom they communicated the *Catholick* King's Proposals, and, in Concert with them, return'd for Answer, "That  
" the Crown of *Navarre* being at Peace both  
" with *France* and *Spain*, they were resolv'd  
" to observe an exact Neutrality, and so could  
" not grant a Passage to *Don Ferdinand's* Army,  
" much less give up any cautionary  
" Towns." This Reply was no sooner deliver'd, but the Duke of *Alva* enter'd *Navarre*, having first taken the Precaution to give his Troops to understand, that he had a Bull from the Pope, who adjudg'd to his *Catholick* Majesty the Propriety of that Kingdom.

This Bull was no other than an Excommunication which Pope *Julius* the Second had fulminated against *Lewis* the Twelfth, King of *France*, and his Adherents. The King of *Spain* pretended that the King of *Navarre* was of that Number, and under this Pretext alone, the Duke of *Alva* undertook the Conquest of *Navarre*.

He found it without an Army, without Garrisons, and in short, in the Condition a small Kingdom may be suppos'd to be, which for Twenty Years has enjoy'd a profound Peace. The Partisans of the House of *Beaumont* join'd him in great Numbers, and the King *Don John* made what Haste he could to get out of *Pamplona*. The Inhabitants of that City, who really lov'd him, offer'd to bear him Company in being buried under the Ruins of their Capital; but either his Heart fail'd

him, or he look'd upon their Zeal as fruitless. *Don John*, without having drawn Sword, or seen the Face of an Enemy, abandon'd the Realm, and, with all possible Speed, sav'd himself on the other Side of the *Pyrenean Mountains*, with the Queen his Consort, who openly enough reproach'd him with his Cowardice.



## REVOLUTION XX.



HE Duke of *Alva* had no more to do but to present himself before *Pamplona*, on the Twentieth of *July*, to be there receiv'd. All the rest of the Kingdom follow'd the Example of the Capital, Fifteen Days being sufficient to bring about this *Revolution*. The King of *Spain* advanc'd to *Logroño*, confirm'd all the Privileges of the Nation, treated both the Nobility and Commons with great Bounty, and incorporated the new Conquest with the rest of the *Spanish* Monarchy.

1513. *Don John* thus despoil'd of his Realm, made some fruitless Efforts to recover it, and beheld an Army which *Lewis* the Twelfth, King of *France*, had furnish'd him with, moulder away without reaping the least Advantage. Nor was he more fortunate in a Second Attempt he made this Year, and he died, without being re-establish'd in his Throne, the Year following. The Queen his Consort, who had a far greater Share of Sense and Courage than himself,

self, surviv'd him only Seven Months. *Don Enrique*, or *Henry* their Eldest Son succeeded them in the Estates they had been possess'd of on the other Side the *Pyrenean Mountains*, and to the Right they had to the Crown of *Navarre*.



## REVOLUTION XXI.



**H**E was very young when he lost his Royal Parents; but those who were Friends to his House never abandon'd him: And a few Years after an Occasion offer'd which they look'd upon as too favourable to be neglected, and therefore bestirr'd themselves to re-establish him upon the Throne of *Navarre*. All *Castile* was up in Arms against *Don \*Carlos* the First. The *Navarrois* who mortally hated their Conquerors, sent *Pau* to the young King, and exhorted his Council to take the Advantage of this Juncture. The House of *Foix*, which was ally'd to that of *Albret*, and which was extremely powerful in the Court of *France* thro' the Interest of the Countess *de Château-Briand*, Favourite Mistress to King *Francis* the First, begg'd that Prince's Permission to levy Troops in his Dominions to re-establish *Don Henry*, to which Request the King of *France* consented. *Asparaut*, the Countess's

1521.

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\* The Emperor Charles V.



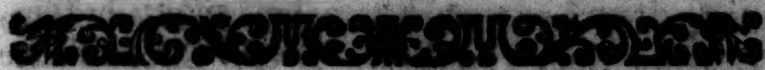
Countess's Brother was nam'd General of the Army which was going to be rais'd, and he amass'd about Twenty Thousand Men in the Provinces of *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*.

*Asparaut*, who was an enterprizing, active, and couragious Man, bluntly broke into *Navarre* in the Month of *May*, took in Six Days *San Juan del Pie de Puerto*, which was one of the Keys of that Kingdom, pass'd over the *Pyrenean* Mountains with an incredible Diligence, and march'd directly to *Pamplona* before the Duke of *Najara*, Vice-Roy of *Navarre*, was able to get Forces together to oppose him. The Vice-Roy, having understood that the House of *Grammont* had join'd *Asparaut*, and having not found the Inhabitants of *Pamplona* dispos'd to make a Defence, took Post for *Segovia*, and abandon'd his Government. The Magistrates of *Pamplona* sent their Keys to *Asparaut*, and he enter'd that Metropolis in Triumph, where *Don Henry D'Albret* was proclaim'd King. The Citadel did not defend itself Three Days. *Estella*, and all the rest of the Kingdom acknowledg'd the new King with the same Joy and Alacrity.




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REVOLUTION



## REVOLUTION XXII.



*Asparaut*, thus a Conqueror without fighting a Stroke, imagin'd that the rest of *Spain* would cost him no more Trouble to conquer it, and that he ought to make his Advantage of the Divisions with which that Monarchy was then miserably agitated. It is said, that *Grammont*, Grand Marechal of *Navarre*, omitted no Endeavours to divert him from that Resolution, by representing to him, That he ought to be satisfy'd with having so gloriously re-establish'd a King in his Throne, and that it would be only seeking his own Ruin to go with Twenty Thousand Men to set the whole Power of *Spain* at Defiance. But *Asparaut* burning with the Desire of signalizing himself, and the young Nobility of *France*, who had not yet drawn their Swords, demanding, with loud Cries, that they might be led to the Enemy, *Grammont* was not heard. *Asparaut* enter'd into *Castile*, and besieg'd *Logroño*, into which Place *Don Pedro Velez de Guevara* had cast himself with above Two Thousand Men, and the City was very vigorously attack'd, and still more vigorously defended.

In the mean while the Civil War ceas'd, and the Love for their Country uniting every Mind, the Duke of *Najara*, at the Head of Forty Thousand Men, march'd against *Asparaut*. At this News he rais'd the Siege, and retreated towards

towards *Pamplona*. The Duke follow'd him thither, and overtook him near *Roviego*, Two Leagues from *Pamplona*. Every Circumstance ought to have oblig'd *Asparant* to evade coming to a Battle: The Superiority of the Enemy; Eight Thousand Men more who immediately after join'd them; and lastly, the Crown of *Navarre* which he hazarded while the Enemy hazarded nothing at all.

However *Asparant*, presuming all Things upon the Bravery of his Troops, accepted the Battle. He did there Actions of Valour and Intrepidity which Posterity will not, without Difficulty, believe; he saw the Victory Twice inclining on his Side, and had there been less Inequality, he had certainly carry'd the Day; but the *Spaniards* constantly supply'd the Places of their Dead and Wounded with fresh Men, and all fighting with great Valour and Resolution, the *French* began to give Ground. The *Constable of Castile* made himself Master of their Artillery, and turning it upon them, completed the Disorder they began to be in before. *Asparant* lost both his Eyes, and was taken Prisoner by *Francis de Beaumont*. In a Word, Six Thousand *French* and *Navarrois* were there slain, a great Number remain'd Prisoners, the rest sav'd themselves by Flight, and the next Day the Conquerors advanc'd to *Pamplona*, which made its Peace by delivering up all the *French* who had taken Refuge there, and by submitting to the Conditions the Conquerors were pleas'd to impose.

The rest of *Navarre* submitted as easily as it had been lost, and ever since that Time this Crown has continu'd united to that of *Spain*, which, indeed, has not been molested  
in



in its Possession. However, the whole Right resided in the Person of *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France*: For as to that of *Ferdinand*, all the World knows that it was so weak, that *Mariana*, one of the most judicious Historians *Spain* has produc'd, never durst venture to make Use of it, and contents himself with establishing it upon the Laws of War, and upon a pretended *Bull* from the Pope, who by an Attempt made by the Court of *Rome* upon the Temporal Privilege of Sovereigns, exposes *Navarre* to the first Invader, under Pretext that *John*, the rightful King, was a Favourer of the Council of *Pisa*, which was not to his Liking, and an Ally of *Lewis* the Twelfth, King of *France*, who, according to him, was an Enemy to the Holy See: Feeble Reasons to dethrone a Monarch!

As to the Right of War, unless they mean proceeding by Force and Violence, which are no where practis'd but amongst the *Barbarians*, King *Ferdinand* could not plead it with any Manner of Foundation, since *John D'Albret* had in no wise offended him. On the contrary, far from taking up Arms against him, \* he offer'd him Passage thro' his Territory. As for the other Point, that *Bull*, so often referr'd to, is no where to be found: But even if it was to be found, could it give the least Manner of Right over a Crown which own'd no Superior but God? To which might be still added a Circumstance which more plainly exposes the Unfincerity of *Ferdinand's* Apologists, which is, That this pretended *Bull* was publish'd

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\* Sure my Author forgets what he said a little before in P. 311.

lish'd in the Month of *July*; however *Navarre* was usurp'd in the Month of *June*. It is even affirm'd, that the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, being upon his Death-Bed, recommended to his Son, *Philip* the Second, to restore the Crown of *Navarre* to its rightful Owner, and that *Philip* the Second, when he died, recommended the same Thing to his Son *Philip* the Third.

*The End of the Fifth BOOK.*



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